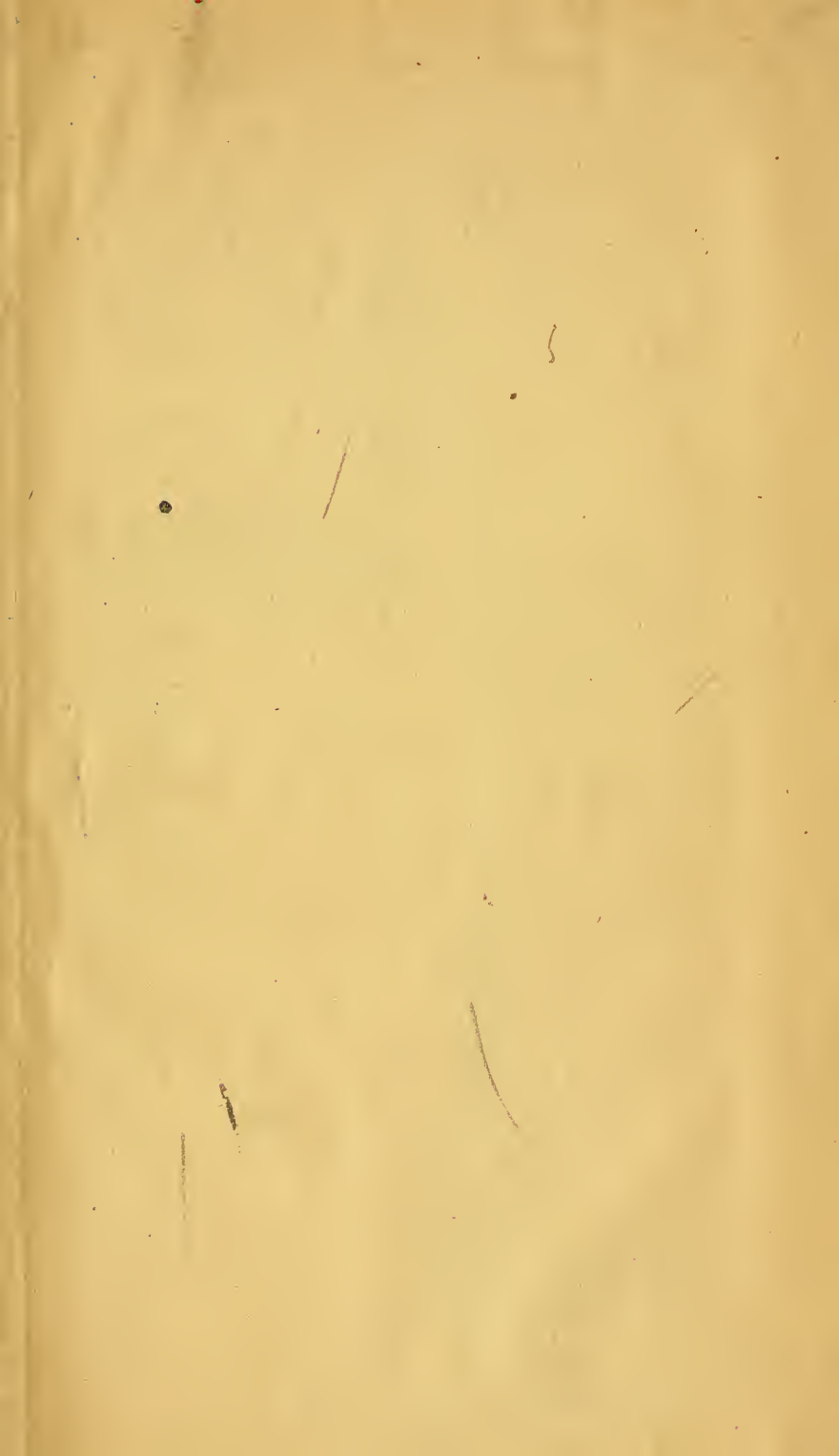


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# ABSTRACT

OF THE

## REPORT OF THE LORDS COMMITTEES

ON THE

### CONDITION AND TREATMENT

OF

### THE COLONIAL SLAVES,

AND OF

THE EVIDENCE TAKEN BY THEM ON THAT SUBJECT;

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

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LONDON :

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1833.



## ANALYSIS, &c.

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The Committee of the House of Lords commenced its sittings on the 13th May, and closed them on the 9th August, 1832.

The following 25 Peers were named upon it:—The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and of Lichfield and Coventry; the Dukes of Buckingham\* and Richmond; the Marquises of Sligo\* and Westminster; Earls Harewood,\* Radnor, Selkirk,\* and Bathurst; Viscounts Goderich, St. Vincent,\* Combermere,\* and Beresford; and Lords Seaford,\* Ellenborough, Suffield, Holland,\* Howard de Walden,\* Redesdale, Colville,\* Napier, Auckland, and Bexley. Of these, the 10 noblemen distinguished by an asterisk are known to be either slave-holders or the very near relatives of those who are. The three prelates, together with the Marquis of Westminster, Earl Bathurst, Viscount Goderich, and Lord Bexley, it is reported, took no part in the Committee. The Duke of Richmond occupied the chair; and of the remaining seven not one was recognized as a decided friend to anti-slavery principles, excepting Lord Suffield; the views of the other six being, to say the least, doubtful.

It was before a Committee thus constituted, as respected at least its *practical* efficiency, that this great question came on for investigation. Can any man wonder that the friends of the Negro regarded its appointment with some degree of apprehension and even dismay? That their fears have been agreeably disappointed by the result, they must attribute to causes wholly independent of the constitution of the Committee, and which, under the overruling providence of God, are to be traced rather to the happy ignorance prevailing, among most of the noble slave-holders who attended the Committee, of the real nature of the system they were so eager to maintain, than to any skill they possessed either to veil its deformities or to give prominence to any, if any there were, of its inherent claims to support. With one or two exceptions, none of them were personally acquainted with the ob-

ject of their attachment. They may have previously known it only from the florid and delusive descriptions of interested agents, and were probably as much appalled by the disclosure of its undisguised lineaments as certain monarchs are said to have been shocked by the naked forms of the consorts to whom they found themselves united by proxy.

The following is the indecisive report of this Committee: "The Committee have applied themselves to the matters referred to them, and considering that there was no prospect of their being able to examine into the state of all the West India Colonies during the continuance of the present session, came to an early determination to confine their enquiry, in the first instance, to the island of Jamaica; and though they have collected much evidence upon the condition of the slaves in that island, some of which is of the most contradictory description, yet they have not found it possible to enter into a detailed examination of many of the other points referred to them; and upon none has their inquiry been so complete as to enable them to submit to the House any definitive opinion. They have, amongst others, called before them planters, managers, and proprietors of estates, attorneys, overseers, persons having connection with the island, or who have visited it in public capacities, and missionaries of different persuasions; and the most material points brought under their notice have been—1st. Any progressive improvement which may have taken place in the state of the slaves since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. 2nd. The actual state and condition of the slaves; the nature and duration of their labour; and also evidence as to instances of cruelty and gross abuse of authority and power. 3rd. The increase or decrease of the slave population as it respects Africans and Creoles, and as affected or not by the state and system of slavery.—And 4th. Plans for improving the condition of the slave, or effecting his emancipation; and opinions as to the probable condition of the Negro, and the effect upon society and property in the island which is likely to be produced by such emancipation.

"Beyond this the enquiry has unavoidably diverged into various collateral matters, from which the Committee could not abstain without omitting many important points, the consideration of which would be essential to a satisfactory conclusion.

"Under these circumstances, adverting to the advanced period of



the session, and to the probable arrival of persons of authority from Jamaica, whose evidence would be most desirable, they have determined to postpone the consideration of any detailed report, and simply to lay the evidence collected before the House, with such an index as may enable the House, without difficulty, to refer to the information which has been obtained upon any of the objects of enquiry."

The evidence thus taken fills nearly 1400 folio pages, many of them closely printed, and which certainly form altogether a most ponderous and unwieldy mass. The utmost, therefore, we can hope to accomplish, within any reasonable limits, is to give a very compressed view of their multitudinous contents.

The pro-slavery witnesses examined by the Committee were as follows : —

1. The Duke of MANCHESTER, who was Governor of Jamaica for 18 years, from 1807 to 1826 (p. 3—12 and p. 379—390).

2. HENRY JOHN HINCHCLIFFE, Esq., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica, who resided in Jamaica 17 years, from 1801 to 1818 (p. 13—22; p. 322—328; and p. 339—345).

3. JOHN BAILLIE, Esq., a planter and manager of estates in Jamaica, who resided in Jamaica from 1788 to 1815, being 27 years; and afterwards revisited it in 1822 and 1825 (p. 22—25; 29—78; and 92—163).

4. Lord SEAFORD, a member of the Committee and a Jamaica planter (p. 88—92).

5. Major-General Sir JOHN KEANE, K. C. B., late lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, who resided there eight years, from 1823 to 1830 (p. 163—185).

6. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq., a Jamaica proprietor, attorney, and manager, who resided there from 1791 to 1823; revisiting it again for a year and a half in 1825 and 1826; being nearly 34 years in all (p. 187—245).

7. Sir MICHAEL CLARE, M. D., who resided, with occasional absences, 30 years in Jamaica, viz., between 1798 and 1831 (p. 263—290).

8. Admiral Sir LAWRENCE HALSTED, K. C. B., late commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1823 to 1827 (p. 291—305 and p. 321).

9. Lieutenant-Colonel ALEXANDER MACDONALD, of the Artillery, stationed for about five months in Jamaica, in 1829 and 1830, and for about six months in Honduras (p. 305—320 and p. 391—395).

10. Rev. JAMES CURTIN, a missionary, and afterwards a parochial clergyman, in Antigua. He resided there from 1799 to 1830, in all 30 years (p. 345—367 and 396—412).

11. Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN, a member of the Committee and a West-India proprietor (p. 369).

12. Rev. Dr. BARRETT, secretary of the Conversion Society (p. 370—379).

13. EDMUND SHARP, a Jamaica overseer for about 20 years, between 1811 and 1832 (p. 779—790).

14. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, a solicitor residing in Jamaica for 14 years, from 1818 to 1832 (p. 812—825 and p. 956—961).

15. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq., who had resided nearly 24 years in Jamaica (p. 961).

16. E. J. WOLSEY, who resided at Hayti for six months and in the United States for three years (p. 1057—1065).

17. THOMAS WILLIAMS, a Berbice planter, resident there for 15 years prior to 1832 (p. 1065—1071).

18. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq., late attorney-general of Jamaica, and now agent of that colony; owner of a coffee plantation; who resided there 20 years, from 1808 to 1828 (p. 965—976, 981—993, and 997—1042).

Besides these witnesses various papers and abstracts were produced, in the course of the enquiry, by THOMAS AMYOTT, Esq., registrar of colonial slaves (p. 27—29); R. G. AMYOTT, Esq., his chief clerk (p. 81—88; 248—261; 449—455; and 1079); and also by Mr. EDWARD IRVING, an accountant (p. 976—979; 993—996; 1010—1013; 1072, and 1073; and 1076 and 1077); and by Mr. E. R. FAYERMAN (p. 1013).

The anti-slavery witnesses were nine in number, viz.—

1. Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan missionary, who quitted Jamaica in 1832, after residing there six years (p. 412—448, and 456—548).

2. Vice-Admiral the Hon. CHARLES E. FLEMING, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1827 to 1830 (p. 548—563).

3. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq., a merchant and manager of estates in Jamaica for 13 years, between 1816 and 1831 (p. 565—633).

4. REV. PETER DUNCAN, a Wesleyan missionary during more than 11 years in Jamaica, from 1821 to 1832 (p. 635—706).

5. REV. THOMAS MORGAN, a Wesleyan missionary, who resided in Jamaica and other West-India islands for 16 years, between 1812 and 1831 (p. 707—722).

6. REV. WILLIAM KNIBB, a Baptist missionary, who resided in Jamaica seven years, from 1825 to 1832 (p. 723—779, and 801—810).

7. REV. THOMAS COOPER, a Unitarian missionary, who resided in Jamaica upwards of three years, from 1818 to 1821 (p. 790—799, and 810—812).

8. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq., M. P. (p. 827—956).

9. REV. JOHN THORPE, a clergyman of the established church, who resided in Jamaica for nearly three years, in 1827, 1828, and 1829 (p. 1048—1750).

Besides the examinations of these witnesses the Report contains a great mass of documentary evidence, to which we shall specifically advert after we have given a brief abstract of the oral testimony on both sides, beginning with that which was adduced in favour of Slavery.

## PRO-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

### 1. THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

It is hardly possible to conceive any thing more meagre and unsatisfactory than the testimony given by this nobleman. After having filled the high office of governor of Jamaica for 18 years, during the interesting period which extended from the date of the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1807, to the passing of the disallowed slave-law (misnamed ameliorating) of 1826, he appears to know as little either of the events which took place under his government, or of the spirit and temper of the different classes of the population subject to his rule, or of the laws which he was appointed to administer, or of the changes in those laws which he was instructed to recommend or required to sanction, or even of the death-warrants he was called officially to sign, as might have been found (if not even less than might have been found) in the commonest observer of the same transactions who derived his information of them only from the journals of the day. His memory, which we should have thought must have been stamped with indelible impressions of the occurrences of that eventful and spirit-stirring crisis, exhibits a smooth and unruffled surface, an almost ab-

solute blank : and he reminds us much more forcibly of a sultan immured within the walls of his haram than of a high British functionary appointed by his sovereign to watch over the lives and the liberty, the well-being and the improvement, of nearly half a million of his fellow-subjects. This is indeed a melancholy exhibition ! We pretend not to say where the blame rests ; but we trust that the days have now vanished for ever which can be darkened and disgraced by so painful and mortifying a spectacle ; and when the powers, whether of good or evil, possessed by the British Government over the destinies of distant provinces, are delegated to hands so little fitted to wield them.

Mr. Burge, if we understand him correctly, has taken to himself the credit (p. 967) of having marshalled the array of the pro-slavery host for the late conflict. If so, he has certainly not shown himself an able tactician. His choice of the Duke of Manchester to lead the van of his battle in the House of Lords, and of Captain Williams to head that in the House of Commons, reflects no lustre on his discernment. It exhibits rather something of that infatuation which we have been apt to impute to the West Indian body, but from which we were fully disposed beforehand to exempt that learned gentleman.

The Duke of Manchester's testimony may be thus summed up :—The treatment of the slaves was excellent ; their food and clothing abundant (though he cannot specify quantities) ; and their dwellings remarkably good in general. They all had land to cultivate for themselves, and the markets of the island were supplied from the excess of their produce with provisions, pigs, and poultry ; and their property was secure. Such was their state as much when the Duke first landed in Jamaica as when he quitted it. The slaves might now be more enlightened, but, in other respects, not a bit better off than they were twenty years ago (p. 3, 4). He did not recollect any legislative enactments tending to improvement in his time, though there may have been one or two since he came away ; but complaints of slaves were much more attended to. There was no feeling of private insecurity while he remained, except during the latter years of his stay, when two or three partial insurrectionary movements occurred (p. 5). The only idea, he conceived, the slaves had of emancipation was the having nothing to do. Thirty days' labour in the year, or as he afterwards says (p. 381), on the authority of Bryan Edwards, twenty, was enough to supply their wants, and they would, therefore, have no motive to labour beyond this. As to confidence in their masters, the slaves could



feel little of it, as there are hardly any of their masters there. They did not know their masters generally. He believed the slaves possessing property were superior persons, but he did not know what distinctions there were among them, and could not specify instances (p. 6). He did not recollect what had passed in the Jamaica Assembly as to their refusal to appoint protectors, or as to the admission of slave evidence, except that it was admitted against their fellow-slaves, though not against white or free persons; or as to compulsory manumission; or as to marriage. Sunday markets were not abolished in his time; but he believed, though of that he was not certain, that the slaves had Saturday as well as Sunday, or at least every other Saturday, except during crop. He was not aware of any law giving the slaves a legal right of property; nor of any attempt to substitute the cat for the cart-whip, or to prevent indecency in the flogging of females; nor could he tell whether the slaves, though liable, as he conceived, to be punished by magistrates, were also liable to be punished by councils of protection, for unfounded complaints (p. 7, 8). He recollected an attack on the house of a Wesleyan missionary at Christmas, 1826; but he had not succeeded in discovering its authors, nor did he know that it was perpetrated by white militia-men, or that it was excited by an inflammatory sermon of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, which sermon he had nevertheless read, and did not consider as inflammatory at all\* (p. 9).

His Grace was further questioned as to certain trials and executions of slaves which had taken place under his sanction, in 1823 and 1824, in the parishes of St. Mary, St. George, St. James, and Hanover, but he was wholly unable to speak clearly as to the circumstances of any of them. He did not even know, though he admitted they were condemned as rebels, that they were taken in arms. "I will not be certain about arms, but they were taken in the act of rebellion certainly;" but what act he could not tell. He had looked at all the evidence laid before him, but had called for no further evidence. He could

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\* We also have read the sermon, and we cannot but marvel at his Grace's judgment of it. Its tendency, if not its aim, was to excite the white militia to rise from their Christmas revels to assail the Methodists. His Grace's apology for the transaction is that it was a drunken outrage.



not recollect whether the whole of it was not hearsay. He did not believe that any witness for the prosecution had been cross-examined. "How, indeed," he aptly asks in reply, "could it have been?" for the accused were "certainly not defended by counsel." He had never heard that a promise of freedom was held out to the witnesses for the prosecution; or that a father named Stirling had been convicted and executed on the unsworn evidence of his own son, a lad of thirteen; or that a husband had been found guilty and hanged on the evidence of his wife\* (p. 10, 11).

The Duke is questioned as to the fact of the indemnity made to the master for the slaves who may be executed. He admits that in such cases "the owner is allowed a sum of money," but, he believes, "generally much below the value. It used to be about £40. That is allowed by law"† (p. 11). On a subsequent examination which his

\* And yet such were the facts of the case, as exhibited on the very face of the evidence which was submitted to the Duke of Manchester, and on which he authorized the execution of eight of the king's subjects in one day; and which he himself transmitted to Lord Bathurst; and which Lord Bathurst laid before the House of Commons, and by whose order they were printed, on the 1st March, 1825, No. 66.—For a full account of the many foul judicial murders which occurred in Jamaica during the years 1823 and 1824, and of which his Grace's recollections are so feeble and imperfect, the reader may refer to this important parliamentary document, and to an abstract of it contained in a pamphlet published by Hatchard, and to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, entitled "*The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery, by the Colonists themselves*" (p. 35—63); and also to the speech of the present Lord Chief Justice, then Mr. Denman, delivered in the House of Commons on the 2nd of March, 1826, when he moved a resolution reprobating, in the strongest terms of sorrow and indignation, the perversion of law and the violation of justice displayed in these trials and executions. See the parliamentary debates of that day, and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. I. No. 10, p. 113, &c.

† The Duke is so far right, in saying that this most iniquitous practice is sanctioned by law in Jamaica; but he is quite mistaken in supposing that the indemnity is limited to £40. On the contrary, in the case of the eight executions which he himself authorized in St. Mary's, the indemnities were as follows, viz.—Henry Nibbs (the man convicted by his wife), £50; Charles Brown, £100; James Stirling (the man executed on the evidence of his son), £65; Charles Watson, £80; Rodney Wellington, £70; William Montgomery, £100; Richard Cosley, £100; Morris Henry, £90. All these poor creatures, except the

Grace underwent respecting these trials (see p. 386), he aims at salving all defects and justifying the warrant to execute eight of the king's subjects, by stating that he could not recollect the evidence on which he had concluded they were guilty, and besides, no Governor, he conceives, could get any thing by sifting a Negro's evidence. "It must be done by persons who understood their language and habits, and are used to their tricks;" implying, it would seem, that he felt himself wholly incompetent to the task of re-examining the evidence; and he further, by way of making his apology complete, says, "I KNOW that the persons executed all confessed." Mr. Burge, he thinks, was Attorney-General at the time.\*

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first, belonged to an estate called Frontier, the property of Archibald Stirling, Esq., a Scotch gentleman, who stands high in reputation in Scotland as a religious character, but who seems to have pocketed £605 as the price of the blood of these seven innocent and murdered men. These valuations stand recorded in the Jamaica Royal Gazette, of the 28th December, 1823, which states that the crimes for which they were "all found guilty *on the clearest evidence*, and sentenced to be hanged," were "rebellious conspiracies, and *other crimes*, to the ruin and destruction of the white people and others of this island, and for causing, exciting, and promoting others thereto; and also for being concerned in rebellion, and *designing* to commit murder, felony, burglary, and to set fire to certain houses, and out-houses; and *compassing and imagining the death of the white people* in the said parish"—(bless their majesties!) Can all this be believed? And yet not one overt act of any kind was even alleged to have been committed. The only witnesses even of a *design* of committing any offence was a boy of thirteen, who charged his own father with it, and a man named Ned, who, we are expressly told, in the Royal Gazette of the 21st of December, 1823, that of the preceding week, did not even depose to any such *design* on the part of any one, until he had "received a promise of pardon, and also of his freedom," if he would "discover the whole plot." And yet the Duke of Manchester, and Mr. Hinchcliffe, and Sir John Keane, and Mr. Shand, and Mr. Burge himself, who was the Attorney-General, the law adviser of his Grace at this time, *cum multis aliis*, can tell us fine tales of the effective protection and security, and of the unrivalled felicity of men on whom such deeds may be perpetrated with impunity. Such is the state in which Sir Charles Rowley says he would prefer to be born to labour, rather than in that of the English peasant. See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, p. 443.

\* What part Mr. Burge may have taken in this matter we know not, though he and Mr. Bullock were probably the Duke's counsellors on the occasion. Mr.

His Grace thinks that the insurrectionary movements of which he had spoken were to be traced to the Negro's desire to emancipate himself. This he believes was the sole cause of the disturbances in St. James and Hanover in 1824. They certainly did not arise, he says, from ill usage—(p. 380).\*

The Duke is of opinion that attorneys and overseers are as likely

B. best knows. But certainly nothing can be more contrary to the fact than the statement made, on the Duke's alleged knowledge, "that the persons executed all confessed." This statement is directly contradicted by Colonel Cox, who was present at the trial and execution of those men. In a letter to the Duke, dated the day after the execution, viz. on the 25th of December, 1823, inserted in the papers of 1825, No. 66, p. 44, Colonel Cox says, "only one of the *wretches* confessed to the Rev. Mr. Gerod that it was their *intention* to have burned Frontier works, and Port Maria, and killed the whites. But none would mention any other Negroes connected with them, or show any symptoms of religion or repentance. They ALL declared they would die like men, and they met their fate with perfect indifference." Even the qualified statement of Mr. Cox is untrue. On the very scaffold, as we should be able to show, pardon was offered to such of them as would acknowledge their guilt, and discover their accomplices, but they, one and all, persisted in protesting their own innocence, and positively refused to save their lives by criminating other persons of whose guilt they had no knowledge. We are the more forward to state these circumstances, because not only is Mr. Burge in England, but Abraham Hodgson, Esq., the custos of St. Mary, who presided at the trial, and himself attended the execution of these eight WRETCHES, is now also in this country. He is one of the delegates sent from Jamaica along with Mr. Barrett to assist Mr. Burge in pleading the cause of slavery in the present session of parliament. It is awful to contemplate the total indifference to Negro life, as well as to all the forms as well as essentials of justice which marked the whole of the proceedings of that feverish period.

\* Here again the Duke of Manchester is contradicted by the documents which he himself transmitted to this country in 1824. See the parliamentary papers already alluded to, No. 66 of 1825, p. 118. The disturbance on Argyle estate, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Malcolm, was solely owing to that gentleman's having most unwarrantably and gratuitously endeavoured to shorten the slaves' Saturdays, by requiring them to muster in the field and work there some time before they were dismissed to their grounds. This conduct was not only unjust, but illegal, and it was obstinately persisted in by Mr. Malcolm, notwithstanding the complaints and remonstrances of his slaves.

to manage well and leniently as the proprietors themselves—(p. 381). He was again questioned about the famous Slave Law passed by him in 1826, and disallowed by the Crown ; but he had forgot all about it, and could reply distinctly to none of the questions—(p. 383, 384). He was further questioned as to the attack on the Methodist Missionary at St. Ann's, after an inflammatory sermon by Mr. Bridges, and he stated his incapacity to call to mind the circumstances of the case, or the causes which prevented the detection and punishment of the delinquents. He relieved himself at last by referring the whole matter to Mr. Burge, who, he thinks, was the Attorney General at the time, "and would be much more able to answer these questions than I can be." "It was *his* (Mr. Burge's) *special* duty to take measures for the discovery. He was instructed to do it"—(p. 385).

The Duke admitted that he had been intimate with Mr. Bridges who, he added, was "a person with whom any one would be glad to be acquainted, as a gentleman and a man of learning"—(p. 388). He had heard that day, for the first time, of the case of Mr. Bridges and Kitty Hilton.\* Being shown a cart-whip, he said he had seen many such in Jamaica, though this, he thought, was somewhat larger than those used by the drivers. He had never, however, had one in his hand in Jamaica ; and had seen it hung over the driver's shoulder, or coiled round his stick. He admitted that they made a shocking noise with their whips ; and that in Jamaica every thing was done by the whip : it was used for signals ; and, if a boy was set to drive chickens, the first thing he did was to make a whip. Every estate has stocks to confine Negroes (p. 388).

On estates, the Duke always found old slaves comfortably provided for, he supposed by their own families. Very few slaves went to

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\* Mr. Bridges has certainly succeeded in gaining the friendship of successive Governors. He was, it is asserted, no less the favoured associate of the convivial hours of the Duke's successor than he was of the Duke himself. Yet this chosen and familiar companion of his Majesty's representatives in that great island stands marked with infamy in the judicial records of Jamaica, and in the official communications of his Majesty's Secretary of State. He has also been convicted of a false and malicious libel on the courts of this country. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. iii., No. 66, and vol. iv., No. 76, p. 140, and No. 79, p. 246.



church. The driver carried, of course, the whip to stimulate the slaves to work ; and, if they did not work, the driver would use his whip for that purpose—(p. 389, 390).

Such is the evidence of the Duke of Manchester, brought forward in the front of their battle by the Colonial Committee, to establish their pro-slavery case, and to confute the calumnies of the Abolitionists and of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. We greatly doubt whether the result will satisfy them. It perfectly satisfies us. We ought, perhaps, to apologize to our readers for giving so much space to it ; but the rank of the witness, and the importance attached to his evidence by the West Indians, seemed to justify this lengthened notice of it.

## 2. H. J. HINCHCLIFFE, Esq.

This lawyer,—for many years, we believe, the King's Advocate, and latterly the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica,—has surprised us by his evidence still more than even the noble Governor of that colony. His professional education and his legal habits were likely to have made his information, during 17 years of uninterrupted residence, of some value. It is nearly valueless. He knows nothing, he tells us, but “from general observation” of the condition of the slave population ; but that, he conceives, enables him to state that, “as compared with the labouring population in any other country, it was exceedingly good indeed” (p. 13). Want, as to food or clothing, was unknown among them ; he had “no notion of any thing of the sort ;” and, as far as he knew, their treatment was good and kind. He had not been led even to think of the subject of emancipation before he left the island in 1818 ; and now he had no idea of a slave, if freed, doing more than supply his own wants, and that he would not very soon relapse into barbarism. In his time, no religious instruction had been given to the slaves except by missionaries, and of them or of the state of religion he knows little. Few plantation slaves were then baptized, and he had never heard of a marriage among them. The planters were jealous of the influence of the missionaries in getting money from the slaves. He seemed to know absolutely nothing of any labours of clergymen among them (p. 14—16). Slaves had certainly no legal right to property in his time, but he had never heard of its being interfered with, though many of them, he believed, possessed property. The treatment of the slaves was, he also believed,



lenient; and the leaning of jurors, on trials, in their favour: but he could not recollect particular instances. Indeed he had never seen a slave trial. The judges were almost all planters, and not professional men, and they acted in general without any legal assessor (p. 17—19).

Mr. Hinchcliffe underwent a second examination, but little more was elicited from him, by means of it, except matters of mere vague opinion and not of knowledge. He was inclined to think, upon the whole, that the act of 1831 did give slaves a legal right of property, but of this he was not sure. He much disapproved of a slave protector, as being discourteous to the master, and as prejudicially interfering between him and the slave. On various other points he professed himself wholly uninformed. He knew no slave that could read (p. 322—331).

His statements were equally vague as to the industry whether of the slaves or of the free. He inclined to think, however, that the slave would work more diligently for himself on his own one day in the week, while compelled to work five days for his master. The late insurrection, he was of opinion, though he had no knowledge of the fact, was excited by the missionaries. Of the missionaries, however, whether white or black, he knew nothing, excepting in the case of one man, a Baptist, whom he believed to be a very respectable, well-behaved man. The general impression respecting them, however, among the planters, was unfavourable (p. 332—336).

Mr. Hinchcliffe had witnessed punishments, but he did not think they could be called severe, if they permitted a man to return to his work immediately, or in a day or two after. The flogging both of men and women was on the posteriors. He believed it was not uncommon to *pickle* the wounds after a flogging. He did not know how many lashes the driver might inflict of his own authority; it might be five or ten. The master or manager might inflict 39. He believed that acts of cruelty would excite general indignation in Jamaica. He had never attended a slave court in his life; but he believed the slave had no *civil* remedy. Of the means of redress, in other cases, enjoyed by the slaves, he begged to refer to the slave law. As to licentiousness, he seemed to admit that it was pretty general among all classes, but not attended with the same violations

of external decency which might be witnessed in populous cities in Europe (p. 340—344).

On the whole, the evidence of this gentleman might well have been spared ; but it is at least harmless. If it proves any thing, it proves this, that a man of good education and respectable acquirements may pass not merely a few months, but 17 or 18 years in a slave colony, and know as little of its interior as if he had passed his whole life in travelling between Lincoln's Inn and Westminster Hall.

### 3. JOHN BAILLIE, Esq.

We come at length to a planter, and a man of no small experience in that capacity, for he had resided in Jamaica 27 years at a stretch, till 1815, and had afterwards visited it twice between 1822 and 1826. His experience, during that time, taught him that the slaves were "happy and contented;" sufficiently provisioned, particularly in his own district, including Westmoreland, St. James, Trelawney, Hanover, and St. Ann; and that they were remarkably improved in moral and religious feeling. The character of overseers, he said, was also improved. The property of slaves was uniformly protected. In case of ill usage, a slave generally obtained redress by going to a magistrate or a neighbouring gentleman. He had every facility in making his complaints, and also for religious worship. This testimony applied to the period even before 1815. He found matters still more improved in his last visits. Baptisms were more frequent, and that in gangs of 20, 30, or 40. The clergyman was invited, and had a dinner, with a *douceur* of £25 or £30 besides. Before 1815, baptism was generally granted on request as a boon; marriage, too, was now much more frequent. His own estate, Roehampton, in St. James's, has about 350 slaves. He had *no school upon it*, but he understood that schools had increased "for coloured children." Voluntary manumissions he understood also to have become very frequent. *He had offered to sell manumission to his own slaves, but not one had ever accepted it.* He thought all masters should be willing to do so whenever slaves apply for it. His own Negroes, to whom he offered to sell their freedom, had the means of paying for it. One of them, of the name of John Baillie, who refused the offer, possessed from £600 to £800; *but he was executed the other day as a leader in the rebellion.* He was originally a mason, and made a deal of money in that way; but, being

a confidential person, he was made head driver, and getting lame, though only 48 years of age, he was then made a ranger to go round the estate, and had a mule to ride and a boy to attend him; he had also his house and land, and cattle running on the estate. In the last return of May, 1831, he stood in the list "exempt from labour," and yet "he was one of the ringleaders in the rebellion." Mr. Baillie cannot tell precisely what property his Negroes were possessed of.\* He had never known but one man, a brown man, who had applied to purchase his freedom and been refused. He was a slave of Mr. Gordon, a gentleman who has distinguished himself in Greece (p. 22—25).

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\* The above statement is, in some of its parts, so extravagant and incredible that we felt disappointed that it should have been followed by no cross-examination. In a later part of the enquiry, however, we find it again adverted to, but still in a way which leaves a part of its strange inconsistencies unexplained. The *only* time, Mr. Baillie observes, that he offered his slaves leave to buy their freedom was (we presume during the Christmas revels) about Christmas, 1825. They refused it, but gave no reason for their refusal. They "laughed in his face," and an old African man, the same identical John Baillie, the ranger mentioned above, speaking for the rest, said, "Massa, me know better, massa, than take freedom." "I never offered it," Mr. Baillie adds, "but on that occasion." "The whole gang were up, and I called three or four of them, and, *in a laughing way*, said, 'You have heard talk a great deal about freedom. If any of you want to be free, I am willing to give it to you. John, what do you think of it?' It was done *in a jocular way*, but perfectly in earnest, if they would avail themselves of it." This offer to sell them their freedom, he adds, was general, and, though the ranger alone answered, yet any one might have dissented from him. In speaking of the property of his slaves, however, on a former day, he had referred to this one man, his slaves generally "*certainly not*" having sufficient property to purchase their freedom. This man, he knew, did possess property, and the ground of his knowledge he thus states: "He had cattle running upon the estate (two cows and their calves); he had also a flock of goats, and he had also hogs and poultry;" and, when the conversation took place as to his freedom, his daughter stated to him, "Massa, he can buy us free very well if he choose; he have plenty of money." Being asked how he knew that this ranger, who was executed for rebellion, possessed the sum of £600 or £800, which he had represented him to possess, and also how it was invested, he said he had no other means of knowing the fact than he had already stated, and that the property was in "money, or in stock, as cattle, pigs, and so on;" and if in money, it was "perhaps hid away." He could not tell what had become of this property

When Mr. Baillie first went to Jamaica very little trouble was taken to instruct slaves ; much more has been taken latterly. Sunday is now never made use of as a day of labour ; formerly it was. Female slaves are not treated or punished indecently by their masters, who, he thinks, have less power, *quoad* licentiousness, than is possessed over maid-servants in England. Slaves are certainly not often subjected to barbarity in punishment, and the means of redress are always easily to be had. Complaints, whether trivial or serious, are *never* smothered. The slave law prohibits the separation of families. No difficulty attends slave evidence, in the case of acts of cruelty. Slaves, once made free, are never reduced to slavery again. No labouring population, certainly, can be better fed ; and no slave is compelled to do half the work of an English labourer. It is clearly the master's interest to feed and clothe his slaves well. Slaves are proud of wearing shoes, but they throw them off when not waiting at table. The planter has to support the old and young, and all incapable of labour. Free labour is to be preferred to slave labour, if it can be obtained. A slave's dwelling is sacred from the master. The intrusion of a protector, therefore, would be offensive to him. Mr. Baillie objects strongly to a protector, as unnecessary and injurious, and as likely to generate discontents. The Negro houses are very comfortable, but he himself did not often enter them. He has gone into the house of his ranger, and had wine offered him there. His slaves had no day given them for their grounds in crop time, but he sometimes gave four or five additional days after crop. He admitted, however, that it would be an advantage to the slaves, at

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since the ranger's execution, but he hoped to ascertain it on his return to Jamaica, which was about to take place. Being further asked what he conceived had been the man's object in revolting, he replied, " It is totally impossible for me to conjecture ; I had such confidence in him that if my family had been there, even my daughters, I should have implicitly placed them in his charge and thought them perfectly safe."

Now what can be said to all this ? It must either be the wildest fable ever fabricated, a mere romance, or this poor man must have suffered from his overseer some very harsh and unworthy treatment of which his master knew nothing. The sound of a cart-whipping, and the groans it may have drawn from him, of course could not reach the ears of his master across the Atlantic ; and to what indignities besides he or his daughter may have been subjected who can tell ?



all seasons, to have time for cultivating their grounds. The only slave on his estate who had cattle was his ranger: he had two cows, and some calves. The slaves *do not eat much animal food, and what they do eat they like to eat in a putrid state* \* (p. 29—39).

Then follow, in this and other parts of Mr. Baillie's evidence, questions about the name and use of the cart-whip or driving whip, as if it were of the slightest importance what name it bears, or what is its precise form or size, so long as it serves to lacerate the bared limbs of human beings, men and women; prickly rods being employed to aggravate its lacerations, and brine or lime-juice to add to its torture. Mr. Baillie, however, stands pre-eminent among pro-slavery witnesses for the unflinching boldness of his assertions respecting the non-use of the whip. Many years ago, this practical planter of thirty years' standing had seen such a thing as a cart-whip; but, if *used* at all, it must have been before the abolition of the slave trade. No such thing has been known since; nay its inflictions have been wholly discontinued since 1795! He has not known it since that time, either on his own estate or on any of the estates in the surrounding district for twenty miles. The whip is carried into the field certainly; but not as an instrument of punishment, only as an emblem of authority. Then, he says, the laws of Jamaica prohibit the use of the whip in inflicting punishments without ample time being allowed after the offence has been committed; whereas it is well known there is no such law in Jamaica. In short, the whole of his evidence is of so random and rambling a

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\* It would be endless to expose all the strange unmeaning statements and misrepresentations contained in the above abstract of ten pages of Mr. Baillie's evidence, contradicted too as much of it is by other pro-slavery witnesses;—such as Sunday is never used as a day of labour—women are not indecently flogged, and are not exposed to licentious outrage—there are no barbarous punishments—the slaves have easy means of redress—there is no separation of families, &c. . Even when he speaks the truth he strangely disfigures it. The slaves do not eat much animal food in Jamaica. That is true. Many of them eat none at all. But then he would imply, because they eat it putrid, that they prefer it in that state. The fact is, they are driven by necessity to eat it putrid, for they can get little else. The Negroes in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti eat good beef daily. Why do they not in Jamaica? Simply because they cannot get it. In Hayti, beef is twopence a pound—in Jamaica, a shilling; and, if the slaves used it, it would be double that price in a week.



nature, that we feel some difficulty in believing that the witness could understand the meaning of the words he uttered. At the very moment he is saying that the use of the whip has been discontinued since 1795, he limits the number of the lashes that may be given by the driver in the field to six. Again, he denies, in the strongest terms, the use of the whip to compel field labour; yet, when he is asked, in a subsequent part of his examination, whether there is a hope as to the fitness of the slaves for emancipation, he replies, "I conceive not; for the nature of the Negro is such that, unless he is *compelled*, he will not work." He does not even think it possible that, in any number of years to come, the slave would be prepared to labour as labour is conducted in other parts of the world; and, if free, he would be unable to take care of his family. Slaves made free, he maintains, become mere nuisances, and are no assistance to any one—(p. 41—45 and 60, 61). Emancipation would be the ruin of the slaves—(p. 115).

What possible use can be made, even so as to form an intelligible abstract, of such wild and contradictory statements?

It will be wholly unnecessary to follow Mr. Baillie in his details (p. 45—60) of the various employments of his slaves by day and by night, and which occupy many pages that tend to nothing and convey no useful information whatever. In the course of his evidence he takes occasion to allude to his anxiety for the religious instruction of his slaves, and to his having even meditated building a chapel for them on his estate; but his attorney told him it would be throwing away money to do so. He therefore abandoned the plan. His favourite ranger seems to have been little inclined to attend to religion: he preferred having three wives to paying it any attention—(p. 51, 52). The only conversation he states himself to have had with his slaves about marriage was to ridicule it (p. 157).

"Sunday," says Mr. Baillie, "has become a day of rest by law;" and this he affirms in the teeth of the very last slave act, which legalizes Sunday markets till eleven o'clock. Again, "The slaves *never* have been compelled to cultivate their grounds on Sundays" (p. 55).—And yet they never had any other day allowed them by law but Sunday, until the very year, 1788, that Mr. Baillie first visited the island.

The endless enquiries and remarks about shoes, and beards, and razors, are only laughable. The object seems to have been to prove that the Negro's foot was not made to wear shoes, although it is

admitted they wear them if they can on gala days, and while waiting at table, and that they may protect the feet from many an injury ; and also to prove that the Negroes, having no beards, do not want razors, though no man can take the trouble to inspect a Negro's face without seeing that the beard, which even Mr. Baillie admits is conspicuous in the aged from its whiteness, is only obscured in the young by the common blackness of the hair and skin.

We may also omit the details about spell-keeping, and hospitals, and ploughing, and holeing, summing up the whole in a brief sentence:—That, generally speaking, the slaves have, in crop-time, not more than six hours' rest in the twenty four ; that hospitals are sometimes coveted by the slaves as a respite from severe toil ; and that the hands of men and women are too generally employed in digging the ground, where ploughs and cattle would do the same work much more effectually, and to the obvious saving of human health and life. These are all points we need not touch upon or attempt to prove.

It were still more vain to follow Mr. Baillie in his loose, undigested, and wholly unauthenticated statements respecting the increase and decrease of the slave population. He specifies, however, certain estates, in the management of which he himself was still concerned, and from which he had received recent returns of the population, which he affirmed to be increasing on *all* of them. But on inspecting the authentic accounts of the population of those particular estates in the year 1827, as compared with the year 1831, as they stand in the sworn returns of the overseers to the different parish vestries, it is evident that Mr. Baillie must have been misinformed on the subject. We find only two of the six estates he mentions to have increased in that time—namely, the estate of Home Castle in St. Ann, belonging to the late Mr. R. Hume Gordon, and Georgia in Trelawney, belonging to Mr. Thomas Gordon. On the former there were, in 1827, 318, and, in 1831, 339 ; so that, supposing there was no addition by purchase or removal, the increase by birth would be 21, or nearly two per cent. per annum. On Georgia the number, in 1827, was 255, and, in 1831, 258. The population of the remaining four estates was as follows, viz.—Blackness, in Westmoreland (the late Mr. Grant's), in 1827, 258 ; in 1831, 254 ; the decrease in the six previous years having been 33. Gibraltar, in Trelawney (Mr. Campbell's), in 1827, 163 : in 1831, 157. Steelfield, in Trelawney, in 1827 ; 213 ; in 1831, 211 ; the decrease of the six pre-

vious years having been 26, and of the whole ten years 28. Orange Bay, in Hanover, in 1827, 281; and in 1831, 264; the decrease of the preceding six years having been 28, and of the whole ten years 45.

Mr. Baillie blunders sadly about the law of slave evidence. In one place he says (p. 122) that he never knew it rejected. The only law on that subject, however, the law of 1831, may be seen in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 446. He is certain, too, that a Negro cannot now be punished with 39 stripes, by his master or manager, for merely being absent from his work (p. 76, 77). There exists, however, no law imposing any such restraint on the master's power. Indeed, Mr. Baillie himself afterwards admits this (p. 120).

Being asked respecting the licentious intercourse between the sexes said to be prevalent in Jamaica, he replied that he did not consider that there was any licentious intercourse between them. It was true white people had all black or coloured mistresses living with them on the footing of man and wife in this country; but he had never seen any violation of decency. He could not name one friend, or any overseer or other person, who did not indulge in this practice. He had never known any missionaries who did so, nor any clergyman; but, if he were told they did, he would believe it (p. 108, 109). He could say nothing of schools: he had never visited any. Estates, he conceived, had nothing to do with schools. He had never put a slave to school, and never knew one who could read. He believed Mr. Charles Nicholas Pallmer had established a school on his estates\* (p. 111, 112).

Mr. Baillie did not know what allowance of food the law required to be given to a slave when he had no provision grounds of his own. The law of humanity was the only law he knew on that point. He never knew a penalty enforced for an insufficient supply of sustenance to a slave (p. 125, 126).

In a later period of his examination, the driving whip was again the subject of enquiry; and he then contradicted much of what he had said before. He denied, indeed, vehemently, the use at all of the cart-whip in the field. It was quite another sort of whip which was carried there; and even that was used, not for punishment, but show. It was generally discontinued—not, as he said at first, in 1795, but, he believed, in 1815. He even admitted that the driver is not now

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\* The attempt failed. See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 346.

prevented from using it in the field by any law. On the contrary, he said that, during the twenty-seven years he had been a planter, men and women *did* labour under the direction of a driver with a whip in his hand (p. 128).

Mr. Baillie had testified that the slave was not compelled to do half so much work as the English labourer did. Being re-examined on this point he acknowledged he knew absolutely nothing of English labour (p. 129, 130).

The question of the duration of night-work was again resumed (p. 130—137), and with the same confusion as we have noticed in every other pro-slavery witness. We again refer our readers on that subject to the notes in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, p. 337, and 417 and 418.

The time required by the Negro to cultivate provisions for himself and family no witness could state very precisely. One witness, Mr. Shand, did not scruple to say that one day, in some instances, or a week in others, was quite sufficient. The Duke of Manchester and others raised the number to thirty or perhaps twenty. Mr. Baillie seemed to think that the 26 allowed by law might be enough; but he always himself gave them four or five or six days more after crop, besides their holidays; and the Sundays, he adds, they may occupy as they please. He had denied, indeed, that they were under any necessity of working on the Sunday, and he never knew them compelled to do so. At length, however, on the eighth day of his examination, he went so far as to admit that “they *do* cultivate their grounds on Sundays, though he did not himself call them to do it” (p. 148, 149).

Mr. Baillie was very anxious to the last to testify that the Negroes did not work by coercion, and that they would on no account work for wages if free; but yet, after all, nothing but the fear of punishment really obtained from them the labour which was obtained, just as in the case, he said, of soldiers and sailors. But the Negroes differed from all other people, he added, in being more lazy. No man who was made free ever returned to work in the field (p. 151—154).

He was against all interference of every kind between master and slave, whether by Protectors, or by Orders in Council, or by suggestions of Secretaries of State. If the West Indians had been left to themselves, he thought, improvement would have gone on much more rapidly; it



had been much retarded by the conduct of the Government and people of this country (p. 162).

Such, in substance, is the evidence, the confused and contradictory evidence, of this great and experienced planter, put forward with no small promise and examined at much length. It forms altogether so strange a jumble of inconsistencies, and is so much at variance with truth, and even with probability, that we should have concluded that he had laboured, while delivering it, under some unfortunate aberration of mind. This would have been our unavoidable conclusion, even if we had heard nothing of the fatal act which soon after closed his earthly course, and which seemed to confirm all our preconceptions on the subject. We can only wonder that so acute a man as Mr. Burge, and one so well acquainted with colonial matters, should have rested the mighty interests of which he is avowedly the advocate, as he is the agent, on the testimony of one so little fitted to serve the cause he was brought forward to support. But, though he has since been removed to another tribunal, his evidence still stands forth, in all its native force, to condemn the system in which he was nurtured, and to which, for so many years, he zealously and perseveringly clung.

#### 4. THE LORD SEAFORD.

Lord Seaford presented to the Committee a report made to him by his attorney in Jamaica, on the 1st of August, 1825, of the condition of his three estates in St. James's, in respect to the grounds, and the quantity of stock of various kinds, possessed by his slaves. The recapitulation is as follows :—

The slaves on the three estates amounted to 864, and they possessed among them about 52 acres of garden grounds, and about 590 acres of provision grounds, in all 642 acres, being nearly in the proportion of three-fourths of an acre to each individual. They were also found to possess 131 cows, 26 oxen, 53 heifers, and 81 calves, making 291 head of horned stock, together with 522 hogs, and 1728 head of poultry. Besides the provision and garden grounds, the stock belonging to the slaves ran in the pastures of the estate free of charge. The young oxen, when fit for the yoke, were bought for the use of the estate at £10 a piece. They ran with the estate's cattle, and were taken care of exactly in the same way. The stock, his Lordship states, is *bona fide* the property of the Negroes. His manager has proposed to



deprive them of this indulgence, but added that it would be necessary to purchase it of them, as, by the new slave act, they had acquired a legal property in all that stock. The proposal was made in a letter which his Lordship had received only the day before, and was suggested as a punishment for the misconduct of the slaves in the late rebellion. Being asked whether he assented to this proposal, he said no. There had been, however, as yet no time for signifying either his assent or dissent.

A question then arises respecting the law of 1831, which has affected to give to the slaves a legal right of property; and Lord Seaford seems to be of opinion that the law is so framed as to confer that right upon them. This point being important, and believing Lord Seaford as well as his manager to be wrong in the interpretation of that clause, we shall deem it necessary to give the law at length. It is the 14th clause of the Act of 19th February, 1831, and is as follows:—

“And whereas, by the usage of this island, slaves have always been permitted to possess personal property, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be established by law: Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any owner, possessor, or any other free person whatsoever, shall wilfully and unlawfully take away from any slave or slaves, or in any way deprive, or cause any slave or slaves to be deprived of, any species of personal property, by him, her, or them lawfully possessed, such person or persons shall forfeit and pay to such slaves the value of such property so taken away as aforesaid, the same to be recovered under the hands and seals of any three justices of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved, which three justices of the peace shall have the power of summoning witnesses, who shall be bound to attend and give their testimony, under the penalty of five pounds: provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall be construed or deemed to authorize any trespass, or to allow any slave or slaves to turn loose, or keep, on his owner's or other person's property, any horses, mares, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or goats, without the consent of his owner, or person in possession of such lands, being first had and obtained: provided always, and be it further enacted, that the said justices shall not have power to investigate any proceeding under the preceding clause unless the complaint be brought before them within twenty days of the alleged committal of the injury: and provided that such justices shall not take cognizance of any claims made by slaves for property above twenty-five pounds value, but all claims for sums above that amount shall and may be recovered by the owner in the courts of this island, on behalf and for the use of such slave: but provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any suit at law or in equity for the recovery of any

such claim by any slave in his own name, or otherwise than in the name of his said owner."

Now, instead of admitting that this law gives to the slaves any really available right of property, and especially as against his master, we pronounce it to be a deliberate mockery, a studied evasion of the very right it affects to confer. To say nothing of the provisos, which are framed so as to defeat all hope of redress in the case most important to the slaves, that of spoliation by their master or his delegate, let us look at this boasted clause, as it stands, independent of these. Its purposed evasion will be more manifest if it be contrasted with the clause in the Trinidad Order in Council, which Lord Bathurst proposed to adopt, and which Mr. Burge, then Attorney-General of Jamaica, embodied into a Bill which was prepared by him in September, 1826, and afterwards brought into the House of Assembly, but rejected by that body, who substituted the above worthless and evasive clause in its stead:—

"Whereas, by the usage of Jamaica, persons in a state of slavery have hitherto been permitted to acquire and enjoy property, free from the control of their owners, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be recognized and established by law, therefore be it enacted that no person in the island of Jamaica, being in a state of slavery, shall on account of his condition be, or be deemed to be, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, alienate, and dispose of lands situate in Jamaica, or money, cattle, implements, or utensils of husbandry, or household furniture, or other effects of such or the like nature, of what value and amount soever, and to bring, maintain, prosecute, and defend any suit or action in any court of justice, for or in respect of any such property, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if he or she were of free condition."—Papers by His Majesty's Command, Part I. 1827, p. 15.

Mr. Burge's version of this clause, adapting it peculiarly to the circumstances of Jamaica, but entirely preserving the spirit of the Trinidad enactment, may be found in the same volume, p. 48. It requires a simple inspection of the two clauses to place, in full light, the intended frustration by the one clause of all the benefits conferred by the other. No one can peruse it without being led to admire the dexterity with which, in the actual law of Jamaica, the crime of robbing a slave is taken out of the class of crimes, and made a mere civil injury; and as, even in the new evidence law of Jamaica, slave evidence is not admissible, under any circumstances, in civil cases, though it be in *some* criminal cases, it will follow that the evidence of slaves

will be entirely shut out from admission in all suits respecting their property. It seems to us that there must have been something almost satanic in the mind of the man, whoever he was, who could combine such a preamble, and such a professed purpose, with such an enactment, holding forth some promise indeed to the ear, but entirely breaking it to the sense. The whole forms as gross a deception as has ever been practised.

These remarks were especially applicable to the disallowed law of 1826. That of 1831, as Lord Goderich justly observes in his despatch to Lord Belmore, dated 16th June, 1831, “is altered considerably to the slave’s disadvantage; and when the owner himself is the wrong-doer the slave is left without any remedy.” The new law, too, instead of imposing, as the Act of 1826 did, a fine of £10, limits the sum to be paid by the trespasser to the precise value of the property stolen or plundered; and expressly takes from the slave, and vests exclusively in his owner, all right, whether in law or equity, to sue for the recovery of his stolen or plundered property. And this is called legal protection to property!! Lord Seaford and his manager may be quite at their ease as to any danger to them from this clause. It is perfectly harmless as respects them, do what they may. At the same time we are very far from supposing that Lord Seaford would require any law but that of his own sense of right to guide his conduct in such a case. All this, however, may show what incorrect views, not merely the public at large, but even well-informed men like Lord Seaford, are apt to take, being gulled by mere words. Reading in the margin of the Jamaica Act these deceptive words, “Property of slaves protected,” they take it for granted that the Act and the margin correspond; whereas they are in direct variance. The intelligent mind of Lord Seaford, if he had read the law with any care, could not have overlooked its futile and utterly evasive nature.\*

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\* It ought not to be forgotten that, in a parliamentary paper printed on the 28th March, 1831, No. 301, Mr. Burge joined the other West India agents in imposing on Parliament and the public the version of the above clause in the act of 1826, respecting property, with the real nature of which Mr. Burge especially had been so conversant, as a complete protection of slave property. “It secures,” they say, “to slaves the possession of personal property.” Can any assertion be less true?

But there is another part of Lord Seaford's evidence to which we must object still more pointedly, as at war with fact.—“I cannot presume,” says his Lordship, “to say from what reasons the Assembly of Jamaica, having refused at one time to make an enactment, should at a subsequent period have thought fit to make it. They refused to admit the evidence of slaves by an overwhelming majority, only two members voting for it: two years afterwards an Act was passed admitting the evidence of slaves WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION” (p. 99). Can Lord Seaford possibly have used these words, speaking upon his solemn oath? We think there must be some mistake in the report. This law, which Lord Seaford affirms to admit the evidence of slaves without *any* restriction, will be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, at p. 446. Even if Lord Seaford had not thought it necessary to look at the law before he *deposed* to this effect, he could hardly have wholly forgotten the comments upon it of his deceased friend, Mr. Huskisson. He might have learnt from him, as well as from the words of the act itself, that, instead of admitting, it absolutely excluded the evidence of slaves in all civil cases, which is to exclude it in a very vast majority of the cases in which slaves can have an interest, and admitted it not in the multitudinous cases of wrong connected with the ordinary and daily course of plantation discipline, but “in those cases of crime ONLY in which they (i. e. slaves) are usually either the actors or the sufferers, excluding their evidence in other cases; a distinction which,” adds Mr. Huskisson, “does not seem to me to rest on any solid foundation.”

Nor is this all. Two slaves, examined apart, if there be no free witnesses, must depose consistently to the same fact, before any free person can be convicted; so that the rape of a slave may altogether escape punishment. Again, no slave testimony will avail against a free person after twelve months from the commission of his crime, however atrocious it may be. Nay, however a man may have been maimed or mutilated, the very exhibition of his bleeding body in court would be a bar to that court to grant him his liberty; and his mutilator, though convicted, cannot be bereft of a master's absolute dominion over him. This is a most barbarous enactment, breathing the very spirit of cruelty and distrust; and yet Lord Seaford says of it, on his oath, that it admits “THE EVIDENCE OF SLAVES WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION.”



Before Lord Seaford was called to give his evidence, as it has now been analysed, an important paper was laid on the table of the Committee, by Richard Garrett Amyot, Esq., first clerk in the Slave Registry Office, containing a view of the births and deaths of Africans and Creoles on Lord Seaford's three estates in St. James's, between the years 1817 and 1829. We will state the gross results:—

The number of slaves on these three estates, by the registry of 1817, was 450 males and 527 females, in all 977 slaves; exhibiting a state of population, in regard to the sexes, highly favourable to its increase, the females being about a sixth more than the males.

The number on these estates in 1829 is not given in this statement, which is a great defect, and serves very much to puzzle it; but, as far as we are able to make it out, the excess of deaths over births, in the intervening time, was 101, which would make the population of 1829 876, the males being 404 and the females 472; an equally favourable state of the population as was exhibited in 1817.

The decrease, nevertheless, even thus shown, amounts to nearly one per cent. per annum. But this is clearly below the truth, as Lord Seaford's manager states the slaves at only 864 in 1825; and in 1830 his returns to the vestries of Hanover and St. James were only 846.

We are aware of the argument which it is intended to build on the distribution which is made, in this statement, of the deaths, into Africans and Creoles, and also on the distribution of the births between African and Creole mothers; but we reserve this point, to which we shall have a sufficient answer hereafter, until we execute our promised purpose, of taking a complete and comprehensive view of the whole question of population, as it has been argued both in this Committee and in that of the House of Commons. Meanwhile we shall limit ourselves to the single remark, that until Lord Seaford shall be able to show how it happens that the slave population of the United States should have increased so rapidly as it has done, namely, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, since the date of the abolition of the American slave trade in 1808, and that his Lordship's slaves, dating from the same period of the abolition of the British slave trade, should have decreased at the rate of 1 per cent.,—we shall deem this boasted argument of no value whatever. Supposing the population of his Lordship's estates, in 1808, to have been 1050, at the American rate of progress it would have amounted, in the year 1829, to 1600;

instead of being, as it actually was in that year, only 876; leaving a positive waste of human life, on these three estates, in 21 years, as compared with America, of 724. No one will venture to say that this is not a murderous difference, which no special pleading about Africans and Creoles can deliver from its guilty stain.

In one point of view we cannot regret that the course of the examination should have forced us to individualize on this occasion, painful as it must be to his Lordship's feelings, and unquestionably so as it is to our own. But where could we have found an example of a slave-holder more entitled to the praise of humane and liberal conduct towards his slaves than this nobleman? But such is the system which he has unhappily had to administer, that its inherent wickedness has set his Lordship's best wishes and efforts at defiance, and has triumphed over them all. On his beautiful estates, where all nature seems to smile, and both all vegetable life and all other animal life are seen luxuriating in the exuberance of their productions,

“Man only is the growth which dwindles here.”

We have indeed heard the case of Lord Seaford, and his severe losses by the late insurrection, cited, not only with the commiseration for his share in that calamity which we participate with all who have access to know his urbanity and other estimable qualities, but as a proof of the innate obduracy and ingratitude of the Negro character, which no kindness can soften, and no obligations can bind. Here, however, we must wholly dissent. His slaves, we do not hesitate to say, owe Lord Seaford nothing. Even the kindness he may have meant them, if not intercepted in its distant progress, has reached them only through hearts and hands known to them, not by any interchange of affection, but by the stern exaction of their unintermitted toil. While they have been surrounding *him* with every enjoyment which wealth can purchase, *they* have been wearing out their lives, by night as well as by day, in bitter bondage, under the frown or the lash of unfeeling task-masters. Compared with those under whom they plied their unremitting labours, what was Lord Seaford to them? Their happiness and their destinies, from day to day and from hour to hour, were not in his power, but in that of his overseers; and while health and life were wasting, as we have seen, apace, it is but the dream of a driveller to suppose that there existed any principle which could enable them to avert their minds from the scenes around them, and

fasten them on the kindly feeling towards them which might dwell in his Lordship's bosom amid the festivities and splendours of his lordly mansion at Seaford or in Audley Square.

# 5. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN KEANE, K. C. B.

This gallant officer passed eight years in Jamaica, in the interesting period from 1823 to 1830, as Commander-in-chief of the forces ; and, during a year and a half of the time, he administered the civil government also. He conceived himself to have had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the condition of the slaves, having moved about a good deal in the island, and visited many estates. We question, however, whether he could have been a very accurate observer of what was passing around him during those years. For example,—he says, speaking of the Negro, that he has always observed it to be “very much contrary to the nature of that *animal* to tell the truth.” He thus illustrates this opinion :—“ Since the enactment of slave evidence being admitted, it is quite extraordinary to see the proof given in courts. They will tell a thing off-hand, and you suppose they had it perfectly ; and on their cross-examination they will forget what they have said, and will tell a story diametrically opposite to what they have before told” (p. 167). Now this is certainly a very off-hand statement of Sir John's, considering that he is on oath. Sir John Keane himself tells us that he quitted Jamaica in 1830. But the act which admitted a slave to give any evidence at all against free persons did not pass till February, 1831, and was not in force until the November following. It was therefore impossible that the gallant General could really have witnessed what he swears to have taken place. It must have been the illusion of a dream.

Again, Sir John Keane tells us on his oath that one man in England does more [labour] than ten Negroes (p. 168).

Again, he never even heard of a Council of Protection in Jamaica : it must have been after his leaving the island (p. 169) ; while, in truth, it forms a part of the acts of 1816 and of 1826, and was renewed in the very act of 1829 upon which he himself put his veto as Governor.

Sir John Keane says he never heard of one complaint from slaves during the whole time he was in Jamaica. Their condition was good ; they were contented ; their food and clothing were sufficient. He was sure they would have complained had there been any cause ; but they

never complained to him ; and he had never, even by accident, heard of their complaining. They were advancing fast, according to Sir John, in amelioration and moral improvement ; and he had never heard of such a thing as any obstruction to it (p. 163—165).

The slaves, Sir John thought, if made free, would sit down and do nothing, like the Maroons—nothing for themselves and nothing for others ; and yet he says they had become excessively enlightened : many could read and write, and could understand their catechism ; yet they do not improve as to their habits of lying, thieving, dishonesty, and licentiousness ; but they pay great attention to their offspring, and they have married more of late years.—The planters dislike the missionaries as alienating their slaves from their work and home.—A slave protector would, in his opinion, be of most dangerous tendency ; besides, such a person was not required. The Governor, the King's representative, was their best protector. In all his own visits round the country, he had never heard a complaint in Jamaica (p. 169). There was a strong disposition in the planters to improve the slaves in every way. A protector is wholly unnecessary. If the Governor wishes for information he can have it from the Custos, or can write to the Custos for his opinion. No cruel proprietor or manager would be tolerated in Jamaica. The Negroes would go to a magistrate either in a body or individually ; but in the eight years he was in Jamaica he never heard of a complaint, and never heard of a cause of complaint (p. 170—172). He is quite sure emancipation would lead to utter ruin and extermination ; “because,” says Sir John, “an aggregate body of 350,000 slaves in Jamaica could not arrange, if they were emancipated to-morrow, any thing like a livelihood or a state of creditable being for themselves ; and, with St. Domingo so close to them, I think they would follow the ruinous example of that ill-fated island” (p. 173).

Sir John Keane reiterates with emphasis that he had never heard of any complaint whatever. He then corrects himself, and says, he had heard of *one* case of corporal punishment that took place when he was in Jamaica. It was the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges of St. Ann. Being asked if he recollected the particulars, he said, “it was a very nonsensical thing about a turkey which Mr. Bridges was angry about, and he flogged his female slave in the most cruel manner in the world.” He knew of no other instance of corporal punishment, and he never saw one himself, and never saw a slave struck.—How,



then, he is asked, are slaves made to work? By usage and custom; they are used to it from infancy. He cannot tell whether they are influenced by the fear of corporal punishment; he never asked them what motive they had; he supposed, however, that the law sanctioned the driver in arbitrarily punishing a slave, but over the law he had never had any control. Slaves worked from habit, and from a wish to serve their owners, but he understood they might be flogged if they did not work. Masters did not wish drivers to flog them, and they themselves had told him so. The magistracy of Jamaica he knew, and thought them incapable of concealing cruelty (p. 175, 176).

The Negro, Sir John thinks, would consider emancipation as giving him the “free exercise of his own will, which, by the character of the *animal*, leads to idleness” (p. 177). He knew nothing of spell or of the interior management of estates but what he picked up in conversation, or had seen himself at times. “The Negroes in Jamaica are a magnificent race of people.” He does not know whether the regulations of estates are likely to make the Negroes industrious, as “the nature of the *animal* differs so much;” but, if free, “they would not work as they now do, or work at all perhaps.” And yet he saw nothing like disgust with their work. “It was a most extraordinary thing; they were always singing,” and they were most happy at the heaviest work, “cracking their jokes, and singing from one end to the other;” but he has formed the opinion, and he “will stick to it,” that they will not work if free (p. 178—180).

He praised highly the discipline and good conduct of the black soldiers, but he can draw no comparison between a soldier and a Negro. The Negroes are idle; they would, if free, “like to enjoy themselves in the sun and scratch themselves” (p. 182). He professed great ignorance about religious instruction. He had never given slavery a thought before he went out to Jamaica (p. 184).

Such is the evidence given by Sir John Keane, K.C.B., Commander in Chief of the forces, and Governor, for a time, of Jamaica! With such Commanders and Governors no one can wonder that slavery, as a system, should have been so little understood in this country; and that, with all its abuses, it should have lasted so long. But for the indignation such things excite, it would be truly ludicrous to listen to such dotages from public functionaries.

## 6. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq.

This gentleman was examined at great length before the House of Commons, and a full abstract of his evidence will be found in our last number, p. 431, &c. In substance, it is so identical with that given before the Lords' Committee that it would be superfluous to abstract it again. We find, however, a very few novelties, to which we shall briefly advert.

Mr. Shand is explaining, philosophically, why the slaves eat little animal food. He says (p. 198), "a population little accustomed to eat animal food have no great desire for it. I believe, in many cases, the Highlanders of Scotland *cannot* eat animal food. There are people on my estate who have not tasted animal food, I should think, a hundred times in their lives. They are satisfied with potatoes or oatmeal."\*

He had frequently seen the whip applied to women as well as men. Both worked equally in the field. He did not know to how many lashes a driver was now limited, as the law had been altered since he left Jamaica† (p. 204).

Mr. Shand repeats (p. 206 and p. 208) the extravagant proposition that one day's labour might enable a slave to cultivate food enough for the whole year; and that he has no need to labour on Sunday (p. 207).

The proceedings in this country are now, says Mr. Shand, the chief occasion of punishments. Otherwise there would be few (p. 209).

"A slave is, in many respects, better off than if he were free. He no doubt would have more time if he *chose* to labour. Beggars swarm *here*. Mendicity is unknown in the colonies" (p. 209).

Mr. Shand affirms that no slaves have been branded since the slave trade ceased: a law was then passed to forbid it"† (p. 210).

The slaves do not generally use mattresses. They no more desire

\* The people on Mr. Shand's estates, whether in the West Indies or in the Highlands of Scotland, we presume, do not and cannot eat meat, precisely from the same cause in both cases, because they have it not to eat.

† There has been no change in the law in this respect. It was ten lashes in 1788. It is ten lashes in 1833.

‡ The first law on that subject was in 1831.

mattresses and bed-clothes than shoes. The Africans commonly prefer going naked : their clothing is light, very light (p. 217).

After much shuffling about night work, Mr. Shand admits that in crop-time he himself, as a book-keeper, was obliged to keep his eyes open 18 hours and a half out of the 24 (p. 282). The Negro, he admitted, had daily six hours of additional work in crop-time (p. 283).

#### 7. SIR MICHAEL CLARE, M. D.

This physician of 30 years' experience in Jamaica never knew or even suspected an instance of a Negro being turned out to work when unfit for it. Sick slaves had boards to sleep on, and, if their limbs were broken, they were supplied with blankets (p. 264).

Suicide used formerly to prevail among Negroes. He could not tell why, but thought it was because they expected to get back to their country and friends on death. On one occasion, eleven slaves committed suicide. "One hung the other ten. He did it by persuasion, and in a species of mirth and gaiety, and then hung himself, and, the withes breaking twice, he hung himself the third time with a withe which did not break ; and they were not discovered till all were perfectly dead"\* (p. 266).

Sir Michael scarcely recollected any slaves sent into the hospital in consequence of punishment. In that respect they were much better off than soldiers, who were always sent there (p. 267). He recollected one instance of a white man of the name of Lee, punished with fine and imprisonment, and the freedom of his slave, a female, to whom he was made to pay £10 a year, and whom after flogging he had stamped on the breast with a heated stamping iron. And yet her crime was one for which she would have been hanged in England ; running away and stealing. She was a domestic. He did not recollect one act of cruelty on estates, either in the hospital or out of the hospital (p. 268). He had known sores indeed the effect of punishment, when Negroes having been punished kept out of the way. The sores became fly-blown (i. e. full of maggots). The custom is to confine the Negro who is punished in the stocks till he gets well, but he never saw one so punished as, if so confined, to make medical aid necessary. If allowed

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\* The sapient physician did not explain how he came to know all this, none remaining to tell the tale.

to walk about, bad sores may follow (p. 269). The sores are on the back and buttocks. But he never had to treat a slave medically merely for having 39 lashes, except there were sores. He remembered two or three cases of injuries inflicted on Negroes by persons acting under the impulse of violent passion ;—one where the Chief Justice, a gouty and passionate man, knocked out the teeth of his domestic, and injured his own hand, and lost two of his own fingers, and nearly died in consequence. He was not tried for the assault ; as the Negro made no complaint. He was a very good master, and never struck his domestic with that hand again (p. 269, 270).

The Negroes are liable to sores from brushwood and other things. They will not, however, wear shoes at their work ; but only when in full dress. He never knew an instance of debility from overworking or insufficiency of food (p. 273). He kept the children on estates healthy by dosing them every Monday morning with salt water to carry off worms. The deficiency of breeding women was very striking, and the perpetration of abortion common (p. 274, 275).

Negro parents are very severe, very harsh and tyrannical in punishing their children. They do it with ebony rods on the buttocks. It is a cruel and painful infliction : and he had heard, too, though he had never seen it, of their pickling them afterwards with brine ; that is, applying salt over the raw part : but he never knew or heard of such things on the part of masters, but only of parents (p. 275, 276). He had seen it, however, in the army (p. 278).

The morals of the Negroes were improved in appearance, but not in reality. They were all very licentious ; and proprietors, he thought, had no power, and made no attempt to stop it, or to prevent wealthy Negroes from engrossing several women. He saw no remedy but removing the children wholly from their parents. Parents, however, disliked this, as it deprived them of the aid of their children, whom they wished to work for them while they sat still. They are more polished, but not at all mended in reality as to morals ; and emancipation would aggravate their vices, and lead to the indulgence of every vice without restriction—(p. 277, 278).

In the same vague, gossiping, and unsatisfactory style, this learned physician proceeds to talk upon a variety of topics, as abortion, polygamy, marriage, religious instruction, progress of population, medical treatment, day and night labour : but with respect to none of them had



he ever once heard of any thing to the disadvantage of the system, and with respect to none of them had he ever even heard of any thing occurring discreditable to it. He had never even heard of an instance of the whip being used to stimulate labour, or of any insufficiency of food, or of any waste of life by overworking or underfeeding. The slave, at the same time, will never work if he can help it, and his only idea of freedom is to sit down and do nothing (p. 279—287). No Negro, if freed, will ever hold a hoe—will ever touch it ; with much to the same effect (p. 288—290). And all this is sworn to by Sir Michael Clare, M. D. !\*

#### 8. ADMIRAL SIR LAWRENCE HALSTED.

By this witness's account, nothing could surpass the comfort of the slaves. They did not want to be free ; their comfort was studied to the utmost. He never saw such nice arrangements for the sick as in the hospital of Mr. Archdeckne's estates, in St. Thomas in the East. He saw no stocks, and never saw a Negro in them ; he never saw a hand lifted against a Negro, or a Negro scolded by his master. The slaves show no signs of being ill used, hard worked, or badly fed. His conversations with Sally Adams, his housekeeper and cook, which he details very minutely, proved to him the general comfort prevailing among them ; and, instead of any undue means being used to make women submit to licentious desires, the gentlemen of that country were most respectable and virtuous in their ideas and habits. He never saw a dejected countenance among slaves ; they all appeared cheerful, some hard at work and some idle, for they are indolent and required some one to stimulate them ; and without that he did not think they would work at all. Their houses were very comfortable, with decanters, tumblers, glasses, wine and spirits. They were not a bit jealous of his going into their houses (p. 291—294).

He had seen an excellent school in Kingston attended by slave children.—He was much opposed to having protectors for the slaves. They would do harm and no good. He never knew but one or two instances of cruelty ; and, from the general disposition of the com-

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\* It is worth while to contrast this account with the evidence of Dr. William-son, a contemporary of Dr. Clare, who lived on Lord Harewood's estate. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. ii. p. 249 and 317, and the pamphlet "*Negro Slavery.*"

munity, the injured slave was sure of redress (p. 296, 297). He always considered the slaves as completely happy and contented: they were better off than the peasantry in this country. Many Englishmen would be exceedingly happy to be in their situation; not, indeed, to become slaves, for he did not think the system of slavery would be a good thing for Old England: but still he should like to see the labouring population here as well off as they (p. 298, 299). He would not plead for making Englishmen slaves; but he never saw any cruelty, never heard any harsh language used to them. They had no complaints, and abounded in comforts. He never saw them driven at their work; indeed he never was in the field when they were at work: but he knew there was a driver with them with a sort of whip. He had never seen ploughs at work, but he believed there were ploughs. A whip being shown to him, he said that was a most horrible thing, and had he seen that, he should have enquired more about it, for he could not conceive it to be used where people had any feeling (p. 300—302). He did not know about their hours of labour, or their night work. If free, they were so indolent he thought they would not work without some law to compel them; and yet those who supplied the markets must be industrious. Concubinage was not more common, he thought, in Jamaica than in England (p. 304).

#### 9. COLONEL ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

This officer was in Jamaica two months at one time, and three at another, and had been in the habit of visiting sugar estates. He had never known any acts of cruelty committed towards slaves, nor ever saw any punishments of field slaves. He had known a slave express an opinion that he was better off in a state of slavery than he should be in one of freedom (p. 305).

He had invariably seen the slaves in Jamaica both happy and contented; and he had known instances of slaves refusing their freedom, for this reason—that, if they were old and could not work, there was no one to take care of them; but, by the slave laws, masters were obliged to clothe and feed them. The service required is not half of what was required in this country. He had never in his life known what he called cruelty (p. 306). In Honduras, the only labour was cutting mahogany: it is not severe labour. He never saw people better treated in any country. Their food is very good. He never

saw any punishment inflicted on slaves there. Being Governor there, he never permitted it. Their religious instruction was much attended to, and all the slaves were in the habit of attending church. There was a school attended by children, both slaves and free. Offences were tried by magistrates chosen by the settlers of property, whether white or coloured. Some of the coloured people were magistrates. They had been treated ill by his predecessors; but Sir George Murray had approved of his appointing them to the magistracy. The slaves make money by cutting logwood on their own account. There are Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries there, who have done much good. The male population exceeds the female, which is a great disadvantage. The habits of the slaves are naturally licentious; and, if free, it would be morally impossible to keep them in order.\* They are now kept in order by knowing they are subject to the will of their masters; but, if left to themselves, they would not work at all. They are trusted with arms without any apprehension of danger. They are well clothed. They do not care for freedom; and, in many instances, will not take it† (p. 307—320).

#### 10. THE REV. JAMES CURTIN.

Mr. Curtin had resided 30 years in Antigua, to which he went in 1799 as a missionary of the Conversion Society, and in 1819 took charge also of the parish of St. Mary. The only religion he found among the Negroes on going there had been imparted to them by the Moravians and Methodists, chiefly by the former. Religious instruction had made great progress since that time. The slaves were then generally very ignorant, except those who attended the Methodists and Moravians. There were six parish churches; but the clergy did not then consider it a part of their duty to instruct the Negroes. There was one Moravian and one Methodist meeting-house. There are now the same six parish churches and five chapels of the Church of England, also five Moravian and five Methodist establishments. The improve-

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\* And yet the number of emancipated people is very considerable, and they are respectable and wealthy, by Colonel Macdonald's own admission.

† And yet, by looking at the returns from Honduras, it will be found that a larger proportion of the slaves purchase their freedom there than in any colony in the West Indies. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. i., No. 19.

ment had been great before the Bishop went out in 1825, and many could read the Scriptures well. He had baptized considerable numbers, and married 150 couples up to 1824.\* He instructed them according to the catechism of the Church, and the test of their being sufficiently instructed was, their taking pains to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as he could not enter into their natural habits and know what their state of life was.† He kept himself quite aloof from the sectarians, and minded his own business; he could not tell, therefore, how they went on; but he was on terms of courtesy with all religious parties, except sometimes the clergy. He got, however, on one occasion, into a quarrel with the President of the island, about some money matter, and was sharply rebuked for it by the Bishop of London; but he had been irritated by being prevented by the President from adding to his small income of £200 a year (having a wife and family). He did not however lose in the end, as he afterwards got the charge, in addition to his salary as missionary, of one of the island livings (p. 345—348).

He was generally well received by proprietors, with one or two exceptions. "I *always* found," he says, "the slaves on plantations very comfortably situated, *generally speaking*, and very rarely making complaints; they *always* looked well, cheerful, and happy." "I have

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\* We find from the parliamentary returns, No. 204, of 1828, p. 18, that Mr. Curtin, in his capacity of missionary, had married only 21 couple of slaves, and, in his capacity of rector of St. Mary, 2 couple, from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825; and he was the only clergyman by whom any were married in those years. This return is accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lane, the Colonial Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of May, 1827, to the Governor's Secretary, stating that there was then no law in Antigua making marriage between slaves either a civil or religious contract, or for preventing the separation of husband and wife; so that the surprise is that Mr. Curtin should have married so many even as 23. He alone indeed at that time married any.

† And yet what is the business of a minister of the gospel but to turn men from their "natural habits," and to lead them to alter their "state of life?" "But," says Mr. Curtin, "I could not enter" into that. Mr. Curtin, we find, from his evidence, had been a Catholic priest before he became a Church of England missionary. He seems to have adhered, in this case, to the doctrine of the sufficiency of the mere *opus operatum*. He baptized them, and taught them to repeat the Creed and the Pater-noster, not entering into the question of their life and habits,



never known them grumble on the plantations with respect to their allowances. Perhaps there may be an exception or two, and very partial, by a few of the slaves." He had free access to plantations ; but he *never* did any thing clandestinely, and *always* sent word to the manager when he was coming. He had not known of any acts of cruelty. He recollected once to have heard of a cruel thing, many years ago, by a coloured man to his slave, and the coloured man was put into prison for it. He did not think there were any severe and unnecessary punishments. His general impression, *latterly*, was, that the planters were very loth to punish their slaves, if they could help it ; they had a great deal of feeling for them, and this feeling was much stronger before he left the island (p. 349, 350).

His mission was put an end to by the bishop in 1827. Prior to that he had had at his mission chapel 306 communicants. Only some of the clergy co-operated with him ; but others looked to the emoluments—meaning, we presume, the baptismal fees ; for he had no claim, he says, on that score : he baptized free. The slaves were not buried in the church yards, but in places appropriated for them. He heard one or two instances of complaints from slaves of hardship or cruelty, but the evidence was *ex parte*, and he did not choose to act upon it. The magistrates, too, were always ready to give relief, and he advised their going to the magistrate rather than coming to him (p. 350, 351).

Before marriages were so frequent as now, Negroes in many instances lived together as man and wife, though not married. But now their marriages are legalized and celebrated by banns, and the children are now taken better care of. Almost all in Antigua are now baptized. The Sunday is now well observed in Antigua, better than in some parts of England. The slaves go to church, carrying their prayer books, joining in the responses, and in the psalms and hymns. He has seen them with the Bible and prayer book on their own little tables, with decent chairs to sit on. A great number of them can read. The Methodist and Moravian slaves are generally very regular, good, well-behaved people. The slaves sometimes say they would prefer the church if they could have the regular clergy to attend to them, as it would be some saving of expense. Instruction has made the slaves, in every respect, better. He never had any idea of insurrection among them, and should not now but for excitement. The service is attended by white and black, but these sit separately. Formerly they did not com-

municate at the same sacrament table. The prejudice is lessening, and the blacks are modest and do not press forward. He does not know that there is any jealousy between the church and the sectarians. He never disputed with them, or aided them, but was always civil to them. The Moravians had the greatest number of slaves, the Methodists the greatest number of the free people (p. 352—354).

The slaves in Antigua were partly fed by a regular allowance from their masters, and some of them had grounds. They had their noon time to labour in their grounds; and superannuated slaves and pregnant women could also go to the provision grounds when they pleased. He had seen them working in their grounds, too, on Sunday: but not so much now; they now go to church very much; still they work habitually in their grounds on that day. The planters do not interfere to prevent this, and no steps had been taken by the legislature or by individuals to prevent Sunday labour for themselves; they do not work for their masters on that day unless voluntarily, and when paid for it, except in picking grass for the cattle, which used to be done formerly, and, for aught he knows, may still be done out of church hours (p. 354, 355).

Mr. Curtin never visited a slave property on any account without the leave of the master or manager; he never attended the slaves privately unknown to him (*ibid*).

When slaves complained to him he advised them to go to the magistrates. He only recollected one instance of his mentioning the matter to the master. He once applied to the master to forgive a slave for running away. He refused, and the slave was punished (p. 356).

The Sunday market has recently been abolished by law, but the slaves were averse to it, because they wished to go in their fine clothes, with their fruit, &c., to market on that day, and there was an insurrection about it. They need not have broken the Sabbath, but they did it that they might get another day, and they have got that other day since; the Saturday, he understood, was now allowed (p. 356, 357).

The excitement among the slaves to which he alluded arose from their reading publications stating slavery to be a crime and a sin, and that no man has a right to hold another man as his property. The slaves would be more contented if left quiet. He was not for the perpetuity of slavery, but for an *imperceptible*, gradual abolition of it; and the best-thinking slaves themselves would be more contented to let things

go on quietly, and gain their freedom, than to have a complete extinction of it. The control of an owner over his slaves is so checked by law and magistrates that, if ill disposed, he cannot behave ill to his slaves. If a driver or manager punishes a slave arbitrarily he may be called to account for it. He does not think the driver has now authority to flog a slave to a certain and limited extent. He had seen the custom of carrying a whip in the field cease in many cases. It is now carried in very few cases indeed; and the Negroes know that so many eyes watch the driver that he does not use his whip, and he thinks it is not now applied to the person of the slave. In short, slavery is merely nominal in Antigua: it is no longer absolute power over the slave. The master is watched by the clergyman and the medical man; and the Governor cites the master to his bar, so that he is bound down by law (p. 358).

We shall have some remarks to make on much of the above abstract of a part of this reverend gentleman's evidence before we have done with him. In the mean time, the following part of his examination is so striking a proof of his dexterity in evading inquiry, that we shall give it in his own words:—

“Suppose a slave, when called upon to go into the field with the gang, refuses to go, what means are employed to make him go? He must allege the cause for which he refuses; he must give a reason.—Supposing it is an inadequate reason? Then a complaint must be made to the owner or manager.—Is the whip employed to force him to go? I do not think it is employed at these times.—Is he liable to be forced by the whip to go to his work? If the driver's use of the whip is not abolished; I do not know whether that is or not.—Do you believe, if not prohibited, that he would be liable to be coerced? With that part of the business I was not so much engaged in; mine was religious; all I had to do when I visited them was to see that they were contented.—Do you believe that if the slave was coerced and punished, either for refusing to work or not working with sufficient diligence, any slaves being of your congregation would have stated to you the facts of the case? Yes, I believe they would.—Have you ever heard such complaint? I have scarcely ever heard of one complaint.—Have you heard such complaint? Yes, some years ago; not of late.—How lately have you heard such complaints? Perhaps not since 1812 or 1813.—Is the slave in Antigua compelled to work by his apprehensions of the whip? No, I do not think they are compelled to work; I think they go voluntarily. The religiously educated Negroes will go to work from principle, as they conceive it is their duty to do. They must work.—Do you

know how many hours they work? That is another part of the business; I never heard of any excess of labour.—That has a good deal to do with voluntary labour? The times that I thought the Negroes' appearance looked better was in crop time. When they laboured most they always appeared better in health and more cheerful than when they were not so employed.—Is it to the increase of labour you attribute their improved appearance? No; they receive more nourishment from the juice of the sugar cane, for they eat plentifully of it in the field; I believe they were not restricted.—Do you think that the sugar cane, nutritious as it is, would improve the condition of yourself or any other man who was fed at another time? I do not know; but I believe it is nutritious.—If it had this effect on the slave, and it would not have the same effect upon a well-fed man at another time, what inference is to be derived from the fact: is it not a fair inference that his food had not been so ample previously? I think they are generally well fed.—Are they over-fed in crop time? I never knew them to be under-fed; and I apprehend that at that time and at all times they have provision sufficient out of their own grounds to carry to market to dispose of, to buy them any thing they want.—You have been in the habit of seeing great brewers' draymen going about town? I have seen a great many draymen.—Do you think they get fatter when they drink a great deal of porter? I think that the draymen here work much harder than they do; I never see them drag such loads as they do here.—If they refused to draw such loads in Antigua, what would be done to those slaves? But they never did require it.—What would be the consequence to the slaves if they did refuse? The only instances I have seen of drawing is tanks from the ships.—What would be the consequences to a slave of refusing to do the work his master ordered him? would the slave be liable to corporal punishment for that rejection? He would be liable to confinement or something.—Would he or not be liable to corporal punishment? I suppose he may be liable to corporal punishment.—Do you consider the coercion to labour, as regards the slaves in Antigua, as severe as that used in our navy and army? I do not think it is. I have seen sailors on board ships as I passed through, and I think they are treated with greater harshness than the slaves by their masters. On board merchant ships I have seen them treated with much more harshness by captains or owners than I ever saw a slave treated in Antigua.—If they are ill-treated, is that any reason why the Negroes should be ill-treated? No: but I believe the proprietor of the slave treats him with more kindness, looking to him for his labour.—Do you conceive the sailors or soldiers are liable to the infliction of corporal punishment at the will of their superior? I have seen them get lashes without any order but the master's wish; I have seen the cabin boy knocked about by the captain.—Have you ever seen an instance of a soldier or sailor flogged at the arbitrary will of his superior? I have not been in the army. I can speak of what I have read in different papers about the flogging them.—As an Englishman, do you not know that it would be contrary to law to inflict corporal punishment



on one without an order of some court? It would be considered an assault for even a master to strike a servant, I conceive.—Would it be so in the case of a slave? The slave could call his master before the justice for it; he could go and take his complaint before the next justice, and the magistrate would immediately order an investigation.—In going to make his complaint, would he not be liable to be apprehended as a runaway unless he possessed a pass? No; I do not know that he would be liable to be apprehended as a runaway: and there is another circumstance; if the Negro slaves, whether male or female, considered themselves to be aggrieved or harshly treated by their owners, or felt it unpleasant to belong to such a man, they apply to the Governor, and he instantly listens to their remonstrance, and their owner is summoned before him, and he is desired to give that person a ticket to provide himself with another owner, and the slave is at liberty to look out for another owner; he is not obliged to live with a person that he does not wish to serve; if he says he is hardly treated by such a person,—‘He is very severe to us, and we wish to belong to another owner,’ the magistrate says, ‘You must give him a ticket to get another owner.’—Does he say, ‘You must,’ or ‘I advise you?’ The owner in general would wish it, because he does not wish to possess an unwilling slave; he had rather give him the ticket to get rid of him.—How many instances have you known of such a case as that? I have heard two or three instances.—Have the goodness to name them? I cannot name them now. There is a general impression upon my mind, but I can remember one instance. I have been very frequently called upon to go to the slaves to visit them in their sickness and in the hour of their distress; I have been called upon to visit them in gaol, and when they were under sentence of death. In the year 1817, I think, there were two slaves condemned to die that belonged to the Treasurer of the island; they were condemned for breaking open the bureau and getting money out of it. I was called to visit them, and administer baptism to one of them under sentence of death. When they were to be carried out to execution, I desired the black man—one was a fair-coloured man and the other black,—‘Speak to your friends every thing that is in your heart, and give them some advice, as you are going to leave the world, to show your regret and sorrow for robbing your master.’ He told them that he was led into temptation, having free access to his master’s keys, and that they took the keys out of the chest and robbed their master, and dissipated the money; ‘But,’ said he, ‘I will tell you—I will tell it as a dying man—I wish it to be known to all the Negroes (this was at the place of execution), I wish it to be known to all bystanders, that if whites are to be attended, I would not advise them to be attended by Negroes, for whites are the properest persons to attend on white persons, for we are not willingly domestics or agriculturists to the white people.’ This man said so on the place of execution. Now, said I, observe this, and I minuted it down, and I took notes. In the course of my ministry I always found an unwillingness in the Negroes who became free to become do-

mestics and agriculturists; they will frequently reproach one another, and say, 'You menial'" (p. 357—360).

"Have the goodness to state what makes the essential difference between the Negro and the rest of mankind so great that he would not be actuated by the same stimulus to labour that the rest of mankind, being free, are actuated by? I believe the climate has a great deal to do with it.—You are aware that there are free persons who labour in climates as hot as that at Antigua? Yes; I suppose there may.—Why should the Negro be unwilling to work for wages, when wages will induce others in a similar climate to labour? I only know this, that I believe the wants of the Negroes are so few that they would not expend much time at their work to have those wants supplied. They would require little clothing and little food. In those tropical climates they can do with much less food and clothing than in these northern climates. The Negroes are naturally inclined to indolence; they would rather go a fishing, and so on, than give themselves up to agricultural labour. When they are made free they take trades, such as shopkeepers and dealers, and so on, to avoid being under any authority of any kind. They frequently go off to other islands seeking their fortune, and come back, not succeeding in other places, and go living among the Negro slaves on the plantations if they can.—You mean that the slaves in those hot climates would prefer fishing to cane-hole-digging? Yes; if they were free.—From that you infer that the slave would not labour for his own subsistence if free? They would labour in fishing or something of that kind, but they would not at other occupations.—Not even to save themselves and their families from starvation? I have no great opinion of their foresight; I think they generally look to the present time.—You have stated that they have, in many instances, acquired considerable property? They have acquired property, some of them.—By what means did they acquire this property? By raising vegetables, and fruit, and stock.—Is not that done by the exertions of their own industry? Yes; but there are exceptions to general rules; there are a few exceptions.—How can you reconcile with the fact that the slaves labour on their provision grounds during the portion of time which is their own, the great portion of it being devoted to the service of their master, the supposition that if made free they would not labour for their own subsistence, having the command of all their time? I think I can reconcile that by showing that those slaves I allude to are in superior circumstances to some of the other Negroes, as there are in all gradations of society persons of superior talent; and by the perquisites those superior Negroes receive, by saving some of those perquisites they have, they are able to lay up something; and then, by having a power over other slaves, they can make up this deficiency.—You mean to say that the possession of property is confined to the superior class of slaves, such as head men, drivers, and artificers? The possession of considerable property.—You know no instance of field Negroes possessing such property? Yes; there are field Negroes I have seen very comfortable too.—You would not call the

field Negroes a superior class? The field Negroes frequently appear to be such. They have a good deal of stock. I have bought stock from them myself, and fruit.—Have you ever known an instance of a free man returning to labour in the field? Never.—You say many of the slaves possess horses: are they allowed to possess horses? I believe there is no law now against it; I have seen them come to church and driving about with their horses on Sunday.—Do you speak of common field Negroes keeping horses? No, not the common field Negroes: the head men on the estates. There was another instance I knew;—a boat was carried away with some slaves from the island by a storm; it was carried to another part of the country; and I have known an instance of them returning to their owners rather than remain free; I knew a man, and I spoke to him one day; I said, ‘You have returned?’ He said, ‘Yes, massa; I have returned in preference, to live on massa’s property.’—You are aware that there are on the island of Antigua several hundred free Negroes, under the name of liberated Africans? Yes.—They are persons who have been captured in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, and as such are free? Yes; there are, I believe, a few hundreds, not very many, perhaps two or three hundred. I have baptized and administered the sacraments to some of them as African apprentices; they were never considered as slaves.—Do you know any thing of the mode in which they maintain themselves? They were maintained for a time by the Custom House.—How long has that ceased? I know it has ceased, and that they were directed to be freed, and that they went about as jobbers, in the town, as porters, and things like that; but I did not see any of them go to agricultural labour.—How long is it since you were in the island? A year and ten months ago. I had two of these African apprentices myself. I will tell an instance regarding one of those men. I got one of them apprenticed to me in the year 1811.—As what? He was apprenticed to me. It was thought advisable to put them to some trade. I had a Negro a tailor, and I bound him to that tailor to learn that trade: he was with me from the year 1811 to nearly the time I left. There was an order sent from Government to make them free; this man came and said, ‘I have an order, Sir, to be free.’ I said, ‘You have been free these three years, why do not you accept it?’—‘Oh massa, I had rather remain with you.’ I said, ‘You may remain as you are.’ He remained there for a few months, but some free person put it into his head that he ought to get more wages from me. He came and applied for more wages; I said, ‘No; you said you were contented to remain; if any body puts it into your head, go where you can better yourself;’ and he went from me, kept away for about six weeks, and then returned about three months before I left the island, and he said, ‘Massa, they make me fool.’ He had been to persons to work for them, but he said he had worked harder, and had rather come back.—Do you know whether those free persons maintain themselves in the island by their own industry and by the wages of labour, or by what means? I believe some of them maintain them-



selves by their own industry; but I believe some of them live on the plantations among the Negro slaves, and work for the Negro slaves on the plantations; whether they are connected by having wives, or women having husbands, and so that they live with those people, I cannot say: they will not go to agriculture willingly.—Do you or not know that those persons actually do maintain themselves by the produce of their own industry? I do not know that they do.—Did you not say that they worked about the town? Some of them.—And some you say you saw on different estates? Yes.—Those persons you describe as going and living among the slaves are persons who have within a very few years been brought to the island from Africa? Yes.—They are not Creoles? No.—Have you known any instance, of your own knowledge, of those native Africans who have spoken no English at all going and living among the slaves on any plantation? Not the newly-arrived Africans; they have been some time on the island as apprentices to people; then when they become liberated they have liberty to go on the plantations.—Their numbers have been increasing year by year? I do not think there are more than three or four hundred altogether.—Do you know, of your own knowledge, that any of those persons had gone and lived among the slaves on the plantation doing nothing? I do not mean to say doing nothing; they work with the slaves.—Who pays them? The master of the estate does not pay them.—They are supported out of a portion of that which the master gives to support the slave? Yes; or they may perhaps work to help the slave to keep house or to mind his stock.—Were those captured Africans in any instance among the proprietors of Antigua as apprentices? were they desirous of obtaining them? Yes; they were desirous of obtaining them when they first arrived; I did not hear of any latterly coming there.—Did they continue in general satisfied with the services of those apprenticed Africans? Yes, generally; there have been complaints.—Do you know the Governor of Antigua? Yes, perfectly well.—He is not liable to misrepresent any thing? Not at all.—If he were to represent that they were remarkably well-conducted, very industrious, and supporting themselves by the produce of their own industry, with very few complaints against them for misconduct, should not you suppose that to be conclusive evidence that those persons were not precluded, either by their habits or dispositions, from supporting themselves by honesty and industry? If the Governor gave that testimony positively and decidedly, after proper inquiry and investigation, I should begin to hesitate; but from my own knowledge—I do not speak of the Governor's knowledge, and I think I have as much right to know as the Governor about those Negroes—I have known of several complaints on estates of their trespassing on the properties, and I have known them to be idle in the towns, and taken before the magistrates. I do not think it is so much in the Governor's way to know of these sort of things as a person who is living as I am among the Negroes.—Supposing the Governor's account of the condition of those Negroes should have been given lately, you having been absent a



year and ten months? Then there must have been a great change since I was there.—Have the goodness to state some instance of the trespass you refer to? I recollect no instances; I have had a general impression upon my mind they are on Sir Henry Martin's, and on an estate on another part of the island, towards the old road.—When did this take place? It took place before my leaving the island.—How long before? Perhaps a year or two before I left the island.—How do you know that those trespasses were committed by the liberated Africans? I know the Africans to be living upon the estates, and I have heard it from the managers.—Do you mean to say that a trespass took place on the property? They lived upon the estate. I do not know whether it is to be called a trespass.—You stated that they had been guilty of trespassing? I do not know that they had been guilty. They were living among the Negroes on the estates.—What do you mean by the word trespass? Living on other person's estates.—Against their will? Perhaps without their consent.—You do not mean to represent that they had been guilty of any crime? No; I cannot say as to crime. If they had been guilty of crime, they would have been amenable to the laws.—In whose houses did they live? In the Negro houses.—The houses of the plantation grounds? Yes. They helped the Negroes where they had husbands and wives.—Did you ever hear of an instance of one of those Africans going to field labour? No, I never did. I had one of them, called an African apprentice, and he would not work in the garden if I sent him.—What wages did they get? Half a dollar a week, besides any clothes they wanted.—Were those board wages? Yes; they had wages and board wages, and clothes whenever they wanted them.—Was that half dollar a week board wages, or did you feed them besides? They got that to feed themselves, and they were frequently fed off the table.—Did they get nothing but the half dollar a week? They got clothes besides, and occasionally something from the table.—Did they get that every day? When they wanted it.—You have been asked about a slave having made money by his industry, his labour consisting of rearing poultry and small stock; is that at all to be compared to field labour? No, certainly not; but those men frequently got perquisites.—Is it your opinion that the attendance of the Negroes on divine worship would be increased or diminished by their emancipation? That is a question I should wish to take time to consider.—Do you think the attendance of the Negroes at divine service would be increased or diminished if they were emancipated? May I ask whether the question refers to their being let loose without restraint?—If their manumission took place, would their attendance on divine worship be increased or diminished thereby? I do not know what to say to that question; I think they act as well now as they would do when emancipated.—Do you think they would attend as well? I think they attend as well now as they would then.—Do you think, if they were freed from all restraint, they would attend as well? I do not think they would attend as well if they were free from all restraint.—Do you believe that in the same situation in which eman-

cipated Negroes now are, they would attend as well? I do not think they would. Do you know any instance of emancipated slaves attending a place of worship now? Yes.—What reason have you to think that the slaves who might be emancipated hereafter would not attend church as regularly and as willingly as slaves who have been manumitted? The reason I think so is, that the slaves who have been manumitted have been gradually brought up and inured to attending church; but that with immediate extinction of slavery, that would throw things into such a state of confusion that I cannot tell what they would do.—You assume that which is not intended in the question, namely, that upon emancipation the slaves are to be freed from all restraint whatever; whereas the question supposes the slaves being manumitted, and legal restraint substituted for absolute power, proper means of instruction being afforded them, and every sort of means used to secure good order and proper conduct among them? I will answer that question in this manner:—if any sudden change took place in the system at present, they would not draw that distinction your Lordship does; but they will say, ‘If we are to be free, we will do what we please, and go where we please.’ The Negroes would not take that into consideration; they would imagine themselves to be a free people.—Do you mean the freedom from the whip? I mean that freedom being given them, or any change of this kind, would upset their ideas altogether, and that they would not know what they were about; they would say, ‘The law is a sufficient protection for us;’ though I conceive the laws could not sufficiently protect him.—Do you apprehend that emancipation, in the opinion of the slave, means freedom from restraint of the law? I conceive that emancipation, in their opinion, is exemption from any kind of control whatever; not merely from legal restraint. I conceive that any slaves would immediately conceive they were exempt from any control.—Do you conceive that they would consider it as exemption from the municipal law as the law exists? I do not know; they do not enquire about the municipal law; they will say, ‘We are free, and we will be free.’—They know the difference between restraint and slavery? I think they are satisfied as they are at present.—Would they not think it an exchange between present slavery and a proposed state of restraint? I do not think they would.—You think their notion of emancipation is entire exemption from all labour? From all control.—Do you think that they understand it also as an exemption from labour? Some of them do.—Have any pains been taken to correct that erroneous opinion? Some pains have been, and some are content enough to labour; but if they are to be exempted, who is to give them land, and what is to become of their old and their young people?—Where they have been convinced of their error, you do not mean to say that the slaves do understand emancipation to be freedom from control? It is a very delicate subject; the more I think of it the more I think it is hazardous to touch upon it. There have been great improvements lately. I am for amelioration, and progressive amelioration, and that by *episcopal control*; and that gradual amelioration has taken place in a wonderful degree.—In how

many years do you think that the slaves might possibly arrive to a fit state, in your opinion, to be emancipated? Perhaps it may take half a century; but I will mention one circumstance that will lead to conclusions. Out of 5560 slaves I baptized as slaves, nearly one-fifth part of them became free by the voluntary consent of their owners, so that they were become fit subjects for freedom, and no doubt many others will become fit subjects for freedom.—You think that the emancipation should take place gradually? Yes.—Those persons have conducted themselves well since? Yes; I have seen their children and grandchildren; but the generality of new slaves would not do at all to be freed.—Did those persons remain in the island after they had been freed? Yes, some of them have.—You have spoken of persons trespassing; you do not mean as a crime, but that they had lived with others, and obtained a livelihood in that way? Yes. I cannot tell what has happened since I left.—Do you mean by trespass that they were living in those houses without the knowledge of the master or manager? I do not wish to use the word ‘trespass;’ but perhaps the master does not choose, for kindness to his own slave, to interfere with them if they have a husband or wife there.—In a part of your evidence respecting the punishment of slaves in going to the field, you have stated there was no necessity for punishment, as they went out voluntarily to labour; explain that word ‘voluntarily;’ do you mean by voluntary labour that their habits were such as to induce them to go into the field without compulsion? or did you mean what others understand by it, with a reference to labouring or doing nothing? I mean that the slaves, when they are going to work, go as a matter of course, as they know it is their duty; and therefore they willingly do what they know to be their duty.—Do they not know that they would be flogged if they omitted it? They know that they might be confined or flogged, but they do not go under fear of the whip.—You *know* that? I know that they may go reluctantly; but there are very few cases in which they are reluctant; but very few” (p. 360—366).

“Is there any regulation in Antigua that they shall have one day to themselves in every fortnight? Since I left it I understand there has been; it was in some places when I left.—Have they plenty of time to cultivate their own provision grounds, without working on Sunday, if so disposed? No; I think they must intrench upon the Sunday for their plantation grounds before this allowance lately made to them was made.—Are the free people considered in general to live by industry, or are they charged with encouraging plunder on estates? With regard to the free people of Antigua, I know many of them are in a very respectable class; some are not respectable, and some are trespassers—the lower orders of them.—Is it a matter of complaint amongst the proprietors that the free people are often harboured upon their plantations without their knowledge, and that plunder is encouraged by them? I have heard that complaints are made, and very serious complaints too; I have heard of free people taking boats and taking people’s slaves off the island, and I have heard them complain that their



stores have been robbed by the free people.—Is it not possible, that many of those liberated Africans subsist by the plunder of the plantations on which they reside, where they are harboured in the Negro houses? I suppose they are like other free people; some of them are very good characters, educated men; but many are otherwise" (p. 367).

"You say you occasionally heard complaints; that you discouraged *ex parte* statements, and you recommended them to go to the magistrates. You were asked whether you could bring to mind any case, and you could not recollect any instance? I could not bring to my recollection any instance when asked yesterday. I think I recollect one case—the case of an estate called Miller's. A white man came to me to make complaint that the manager of Miller's estate had used a woman very ill, and he brought the woman with him. She was a woman that he kept; he was an overseer on the estate. That being out of my line I did not feel it right to make any interference in these sort of things. I sent one of our old nurses, a slave woman, to look at this woman, to see what infliction of punishment there had been upon her, and she made a report that she was punished, and I immediately sent for the man. I said, 'I shall not take upon myself to look at this punishment, it does not belong to me as a minister, but you will go directly to a magistrate and show this woman, and make a report.' He did not go as I directed, but he waited three or four days before he went; then he was obliged to undergo a trial, and I believe was imprisoned for a false accusation. I consulted Mr. Burke, the Attorney-General, and he said I did very properly in not interfering; that it was a malicious charge against the manager.—The complainant in that case, when you did interfere, was punished for interfering? He could not make out the case.—How was he punished? I think he was put in prison. There was an action for slander, or something to that effect, brought against him.—The fact was that the woman was flogged? Yes; but not with that severity that the man described. She was flogged on the back. It was a woman that he cohabited with; and the man himself turned out no great things afterwards.—Do you recollect the name of the woman that was flogged? I do not; perhaps it may be on my minutes; but the name of the manager against whom the charge was made was ———, a Scotch gentleman. I think that was about the year 1807. I said there were exceptions to the general good conduct, and that was one of the exceptions.—Are you acquainted with the estate of the Honourable Mr. ———, called Orange Valley? Yes, I am very well acquainted with it.—Is not Mr. ——— a magistrate and a member of His Majesty's Council? He was a member of His Majesty's Council. I have been told lately that he is not now.—What was the treatment of the slaves on that plantation; was it not humane and indulgent? Taking it upon the whole he was a good man. He kept his slaves well clothed and well fed. Taking it upon the whole, it was reported he worked them hard; but I did not observe much about that.—You considered Mr. ——— to be a kind master? Taking the man altogether he was



a good master. He had little freaks and oddities of his own, but not cruel.—Was he not generally respected in the island? He was in the first class in the island; I used to meet him at the Governor's myself. He was not considered a cruel man by any means; he had enemies, I know. I used to find myself a little rough language from him. From the nature of the business I was employed in I was looked upon with a sort of suspicious eye. I was called a friend to the slaves; and now I am here I am said to be a friend to the planters. Mr. — would say, 'Oh, you are an emancipator.'—Have you been so called here? I was called so by a clergyman of Bristol. I was visiting, and met with clergymen who are of the Anti-Slavery party; they asked me a number of questions, and in return I demanded of them what they thought of my opinions; they said, 'We cannot contradict you, for we have not been there; but we think you are a friend of the planters, and a practical minister to the slaves.'—Did you not know the late James —, a magistrate? Yes; but never as a magistrate.—Did you know Mr. —, the magistrate? I never knew him as a magistrate. I have been told since I came here that Mr. — has been put into the commission.—You knew them as gentlemen? Mr. — was a gentlemanly man.—Was not —? Mild, with a rude character.—Were not they persons of respectability and good character? — was not a bad character.—Were they religious men? I do not know much about — religion; I know he was a freemason.—Have you not heard of Mr. — shooting one of his boys? Yes, I heard a report of it. It happened long before I got into the parish where he was; it was when I was a missionary.—You were in Antigua at the time? Yes.—Can you state the circumstances under which it took place? I know no more about it than what I observed in the island at the time; I only heard the report.—Did you hear of Mr. — killing another Negro, and burying him in a pond?—I never heard of his killing a Negro, but I heard of his burying a white matross in the sand; but that was only hearsay. I only heard of it from persons, perhaps, that were not his friends. With regard to shooting the Negro, he went and gave himself up for that, and I believe he was acquitted, or the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of accidental death. There was some sort of trial, but I believe there was a great deal said about it that probably he did not deserve; I think so.—Was he tried for it? I think he was; he gave himself up to the Attorney General for the time. I am not clear about it. I asked him the question about it once; he said it was some accidental thing; he was shooting out in a part near his own house, and that this was a favourite slave, and that the gun went off when he did not intend it, and some one gave it out that it was intended.—Was he tried? I believe he was.—Were you in the island at the time? Yes; but it did not come so much within my view; I was only a missionary.—You heard of his burying another slave? Yes; but that is no proof that he killed him.—Is not the nephew of Mr. — now

in this country? I heard somebody say that he was going out to Antigua. I know him well too" (p. 401, 402).

"Was not Mr. ——— the manager of Rigby's estate? Yes, he was once.—Did not that estate belong to Mr. ———? Yes.—Was not that let to ———? Yes, as I have heard.—At the expiration of that lease did not Mr. ———, the father-in-law of Mr. ———, recover damages in an action at law from the lessees for injury done to the slave gang under Mr. ——— management? I cannot speak to that any further than I heard there was an action at law; but I never heard it was for an injury to the slave gang; I heard it was for an injury to the property generally.—The slave gang would be a part of that property? Yes; I heard of the trial, but I was not in the court house.—Do you know the result of that trial? I know that the action was given in favour of Mr. ———; I believe he recovered damages.—Was not Mr. ——— a member of your vestry at the Valley Church? Yes.—Have the goodness to state what conversation you have had with Mr. ——— at any time respecting the stated cruelty of Mr. ——— towards the slaves? I do not recollect any conversation with Mr. ——— upon that business.—Are you sure you never had any? Never, that I know of, about the cruelties of Kearns" (p. 402).

"Have you ever heard of a Mustee slave, belonging to Mr. ———, of the name of Betsey White? Yes, I have.—Was she not confined by Mr. ——— in his dungeon? I cannot from my own knowledge say any thing of that.—You have spoken of what you *heard* of the liberated Africans; do you or not believe this to have been the fact? I do not know to my own knowledge; I heard a report of it.—Did you believe the report? I think in the general way it is possible it may have been the case.—Was she not delivered of a child during the night in the dungeon? I do not know that; I heard talk of it.—Do you believe it? I did not give much attention to it; I do not think it was at the time I was rector of the parish, or I should have given more attention to it.—Was not the woman without assistance in that dungeon? I cannot tell.—Did you not hear it? I might have heard it, and not believed it.—Do you believe it, or not? I do not think I can believe it to the extent which will authenticate it, for I know that this gentleman had enemies.—Was it not discovered in the morning that the child had been devoured by rats during the night? That is a question I know nothing of from my own knowledge; people may say that.—Did you hear it? Yes, I heard such things.—Was not this slave subsequently sold, with the rest of her children, to Mr. George White, the Collector of the Customs? I think I heard that too; but I do not think I knew it. I do not think that happened when I was rector of the parish.—Did not this sale take place by advice of the magistrates? I declare I do not know that either.—You do not know those facts? No; I might hear them, but I do not know them; and I did not know the woman.—You have no other knowledge of those circumstances but rumour? Yes; just so.—Was not the advice of the magistrates as to this sale given in con-

sequence of Mr. Osborne's cruelty to the slave? I cannot say, indeed.—Did you ever hear of Rock Dungeon belonging to Mr. ———? This is the first time I ever heard of it.—Did you ever hear of any dungeon belonging to Mr. ———, in which he confined his slaves? I was never there; I never saw it.—Do you recollect having heard of a dungeon in which he confined his slaves? I really do not know. I heard nothing particular of his dungeon more than other people's dungeons.—You have heard of a good many people's dungeons? Yes; there are dungeons; and many persons considered it proper to have a dungeon, though they did not probably use it.—Will you state that you do not know any instance of a slave being confined in a dungeon? Yes; I believe there have been instances of slaves being confined in a dungeon.—Then they are not entirely for the purposes of terror? Not entirely; partly for terror, partly for punishment.—Have you ever seen one of those dungeons? Yes; I recollect having seen one some years ago; that was a stone building, with a proper door and a window, like the cages I have seen in Ireland.—Were they under ground? No; they were well ventilated. I saw one in Briggens, and the manager told me that he kept it for terror, for that the Negroes were more afraid of confinement on the Saturday evening than of any thing.—Were they subterraneous? No.—Did you ever see a dungeon dug out of a solid rock, without any aperture except the front? No, never.—Did you ever hear of Mr. ——— confining a slave boy a whole year in his dungeon? No.—Nor for any considerable length of time? No.—Nor for any time at all? No. Mr. ——— is only just a friend of mine; I cannot say a friend, any more than a parishioner. I have been on the estate frequently, and I think if there was any cruelty among the Negroes upon that estate I should have heard of it one way or the other, and I never heard of that word, *rock* dungeon, upon his estate.—Did any of the Negroes ever complain to you of cruelty? No, no more than other people's Negroes; they always told me that they were well fed.—Was not Mr. ——— connected with an estate called Harvey's estate? Yes; he is of Harvey's.—Was he not prosecuted? I understood since I left the island that he was.—Will you state the offence for which he is said to have been prosecuted? I have seen some newspaper from Antigua.—Is the newspaper the only source of your information upon the subject? Yes; I have had no particular communication from any inhabitant upon the subject.—Have you not heard any thing from any friend as to the prosecution of Mr. ———? I have been conversing with the proprietor, a very old gentleman, Mr. ——— of Portland-place, who told me that they had been prosecuting his attorney.—Are you ignorant of the offence for which he was prosecuted? Quite ignorant.—You do not know that it was for cruelty—flogging some Negroes on Harvey's estate? No, I do not.—You have not heard that? Really I do not know whether I heard it was for cruelly flogging or not" (p. 403—405).

Having given these characteristic extracts, we now proceed with the abstract of what remains of Mr. Curtin's evidence.

He could not tell very clearly how many hours of the day the slaves worked in Antigua, but he believed from sunrise to sunset, with intervals of half an hour or an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. If they are required to work during these intervals, they are paid for it. In crop time they are allowed every thing requisite (p. 366, 367).

A question arose with respect to the slaves in his congregation who were polygamists, which was referred to the Society at home. By their advice he required that every slave, previous to baptism, should renounce a plurality of wives, and he did not admit to it those who refused to select one wife of the two or more he had (p. 396, 397).

The living to which he was appointed in 1819 had a population of 4132, the slaves being 4000, and the plantations twenty-five. He was himself possessed of slaves by marriage, about eighteen or nineteen at one time. He had manumitted one of them, a female, for six joes. It was against her own wish; but he urged her, because he thought, as she had already three or four children free, she might as well be free with them. He had, it was true, given an opinion to the Committee, that slaves, if free, would not labour for their subsistence, being of indolent habits and disinclined to industry; and that therefore to give them their freedom would be any thing but kindness. He was still of that opinion generally, but there were exceptions as in this case. Some will work well when free. This woman would work: she was a very valuable woman, and made dresses, and net laces, and things of that kind. There are also exceptions of valuable men, who deserved to be made free, who yet lived content as slaves. He had tried to sell all his slaves since he came to England, but had not succeeded in his negociation; but he did not care about it. If he could have got rid of them, he and Mrs. Curtin were disposed to do so (p. 399).

He did not think the Methodist slaves were better than the Moravian. But he thought the Church of England best of all, and free from cant and hypocrisy. He had never made any calculation as to the more or less of crime among the different classes (p. 403).

The Sunday schools were open for slaves except during service. He has seen them there from morning to evening, as many at one time as at another, domestic slaves taking it, he supposed, by turns.



The liberated African apprenticed to him was an inoffensive creature, but a man of small intelligence, and could scarcely learn his trade of a tailor (p. 407 and 408). The liberated Africans he thought inferior to the free Creoles, but superior to the slaves; but the slaves attended Church (we presume as contradistinguished from Methodist and Moravian places of worship) more than either the liberated Africans or the free (p. 407).

He had quitted the Catholic Church for the Church of England on conviction that the latter was the most scriptural (p. 406).

He had had a dispute with a gentleman, a lawyer in Antigua, in 1814, whom he had charged with being a coward, because he took advantage of his cloth to insult him by doubting his word, and giving him the lie. He did not choose to horsewhip the lawyer as it was before a magistrate; but, being very indignant, as they went down the steps of the magistrate's office, he took the lawyer by the ear, and the lawyer put his hand to his face and broke a pimple on his cheek which bled. It was not a boxing match: this was all. Neither struck the other any more. They were prevented by the crowd, and were both bound over by the magistrate to keep the peace (p. 406 and p. 409, 410).

Mr. Curtin was further examined about Betsy White, the Mustee slave. He knew nothing, he said, but by common report. He had heard, but could not tell, that she was confined by Mr. — in a dungeon, and had been delivered there without assistance, and that the child was devoured by rats; but the report was vague and he did not inquire into it, and did not believe it to be true. It made no impression on him; he knew the man had enemies. He did not believe it enough to think it worth while to make any inquiry into the subject.

We have thus given the evidence of Mr. Curtin very fully and fairly, and we have purposely avoided to break its continuity, however much we were tempted to do so, by any partial observations. But, now that we have brought it to a close, we must take the liberty of making upon its statements a few passing comments, which may possibly run to some length. The occasion, however, seems to require this; because in the whole host of pro-slavery witnesses, produced before the Lords' Committee, we have met with none more justly chargeable with a want of ingenuousness in the course of his examination, and whose an-

swers are more dexterously calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary, than those of this reverend gentleman. We proceed to make our charge good :

1. It is a regular plan with Mr. Curtin to guard his answers, as far as he can, from all awkward hazards of cross-examination, by reserving in most cases “ an exception or two ” from the generality of his praise of the humanity of the slave system and its administrators. But, in his account of the allowances of food to the slaves which the law prescribes, he entirely avoids stating the amount of those allowances, and how very scanty he knew them to be ; for this would at once have revealed to the Committee the fact of their entire incompetency for the comfortable subsistence of a working slave. He says nothing therefore of quantity, but speaks of the absence of all grumbling about it on the part of the slaves, unless in a few excepted cases ; and the inference he obviously meant should be drawn from his evidence is, that the provision for the slaves, generally speaking, was abundant. But what was the fact,—a fact that must have been perfectly well known to Mr. Curtin, because he had slaves of his own to whom he was bound to deal out the allowances prescribed by law ? It was this ; that the master was required (Act of 1798, sec. 1) to give weekly to each adult slave eight pints of flour and twenty ounces of herrings, or equivalent food ; and half that quantity to children. Mr. Curtin knew very well that this was a miserably starving allowance ; but he knew too, and the slaves knew, that it was fixed by law, and that complaint therefore was vain. But he suppresses the fact of the amount of the allowance, and he swears that the slaves were contented with it, and that few grumbled. What greater act of unkindness could any man have been guilty of towards the slaves of Antigua than so to state their case, under the sanction of his clerical character and the solemnity of an oath, as to lead Parliament to believe that the food allowed them is ample, though it was such as he himself, if confined to it, must have sunk under ?

2. Let us take a review next of the way in which this clergyman treats the important question of the Sabbath. He does not tell us frankly of the long and obstinate adherence of the planters of Antigua to the practice of Sunday markets, and of the injury thus done to religion. He does not tell us plainly of their refusing to give the slaves by law a single day in the year, except Sunday, for cultivating any little ground that might be allowed them, or for eking out in any other way

their meagre weekly allowance; or when, in mere spite, they at length suppressed the Sunday market, of their refusing to grant them by law a single hour in lieu of Sunday for going to market. He suppresses or slurs over all this in the masters, and imputes to the slaves all the blame of the turbulence which the unjust suppression of the Sunday market, without any equivalent, had almost of necessity produced. He says they broke the Sabbath wilfully, without any necessity, merely to display their fine clothes and sell their fruit, &c.; while the masters, who suppressed the Sunday market without giving time for any other, are not censured. Will Mr. Curtin venture to affirm, on his oath, that with their miserable allowance of food, and without a single week-day allowed them *by law*, either for going to market or for cultivating their grounds, the slaves were not driven, by sheer, stern, necessity, to violate the Sabbath by doing both on that day?

3. But Mr. Curtin takes upon him to state, on his oath, that time on the Saturday, in lieu of Sunday, is now given to the Antigua slave by law, for marketing and working in his grounds. We challenge him to point out any such law. It is utterly untrue that any such law has been enacted.—In the same way, he insinuates that the driver cannot now by law stimulate or punish slaves by the whip, of his own authority. Again we say, No such law has passed in Antigua.

4. The extreme caution and reserve with which Mr. Curtin always adverts to the delinquencies of the white class, as contrasted with his confident assertions respecting the demerits of blacks and browns, clearly shows the effect of thirty long years of intercourse with colonial society, and the depth of his colonial prejudices. At first, for example, he cannot call to mind a single instance of cruelty that he had ever heard of in Antigua. Happily, however, for the colonial cause, he recollects one such act, perpetrated, not by a white (that of course could not be), but by a man of colour, who not only did the cruelty, but, what was still more impossible in the case of a white, was punished for it.—The tendency, in short, of all this clergyman's evidence, is to exalt all the whites, "with exceptions," and to vituperate all the browns and the blacks, "with exceptions" also. He seems to have forgotten that while the whites in Antigua amount scarcely to 2000, of whom more than one in ten are paupers, the free coloured and black inhabitants are upwards of 5000, of whom Archdeacon Parry distinctly reports, in July, 1827 (see paper No. 204 of 1828), that "there were no free

coloured or black paupers provided for by the parish." The paupers receiving parish relief were all white; and yet Mr. Curtin scruples not to *insinuate*, for he does not venture to assert, that not only the liberated Africans, but many of the free black and coloured Creoles live by what he calls *trespass*; a slander for which there is no ground whatever, as the judicial records of Antigua will testify.

5. Mr. Curtin has, moreover, the hardihood to affirm that the magistracy of Antigua, if even they could be suspected of doing wrong and neglecting their high duties, are so watched and controlled by clergymen and medical practitioners that they would not dare to transgress. (What control, we should be glad to know, has Mr. Curtin exercised over them?) Nay, he even affirms that any man who acts ill is amenable to the Governor, and may be cited by him to his bar. This is melancholy!

6. In the same spirit, he assures us, that the harder the slave is worked the better off he is. Indolence being his besetting sin, the stimulus of long-continued toil, and night labour, and protracted sleeplessness, are essential to his well-being. Crop time is the hey-day of Negro enjoyment; the fattening cane juice then swells out his flaccid frame, and inspires him with unwonted vigour. Why did he not also tell the Committee, that so kindly considerate are the planters, and so fearful of surfeiting the luxurious slave with the superabundance of the good things then bestowed upon them, that, to prevent the evils of repletion, they have actually, in their parental tenderness, made a law to cut off, in crop time, one-fifth part of the usual allowances? Happy slaves to be thus anxiously cared for!

7. Mr. Curtin could not recollect any instances (with one or two exceptions) of cruel treatment of slaves in Antigua, during his thirty years' experience; but, being reminded of a certain dungeon of a friend of his own, in which certain atrocities had taken place, the Rev. gentleman, in his too eager desire to vindicate his friend, maintained that at least his dungeon was not worse than the dungeons of others, there being many such in Antigua. But then, whatever might pass in the interior of these dungeons, he was at least able to say that they had the advantages of light and ventilation, so as to obviate all imputation on the humanity of those who erected those places of torture, and who had filled them with their wretched inmates.

8. But if there be evils existing in Antigua, and if slavery is to be



deemed one of them, Mr. Curtin would have them all reformed in due time. He, too, is for emancipation, but, to suit his taste, it must be very *gradual*, nay, *imperceptible*, in its progress. The slave must not have the even tenor of his destiny disturbed by idle but inciting declamations about whips, and chains, and dungeons, and freedom, and such stuff. The planters must be left to pursue their own projects of amelioration, and then he has no doubt that, some fifty years hence, the effect of their assiduous cares will be seen in some approach to fitness for that freedom which, if rashly dealt out to them by modern visionaries, Mr. Curtin would regard as a curse and not a blessing.

But we must now take our leave of Mr. Curtin, and, after this exposure of his evidence, leave him to his own reflections, and to the admiration of all who love to contemplate bright specimens of dexterous evasion.

## 11. THE LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN.

This Noble Lord's evidence is confined to a document which he had extracted from some papers relating to certain items of civil and ecclesiastical expenditure in Jamaica, and a summary of which will be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, p. 461.

## 12. REV. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT, D. D.

This witness merely laid before the Committee an abstract of information taken from the reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, a great part of which will be found in our preceding volumes by referring to the Index. Those who have read the successive numbers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, or who have attended to the evidence of Mr. Wildman, will not be surprised by the language the Bishop employs in his recent correspondence with this country.—“ Our institutions,” he says, “ are improving, and our chapels are building. These are measures much too slow for some persons. I confess I dread the consequences of precipitancy in a matter of such importance, and so materially affecting the *property* and *security* of His Majesty's subjects.” In speaking of the insurrection, he is strongly impressed with the “ atrocities attending it, and the “ audacity of the slaves, as well as their duplicity and treachery towards their masters.” He adds, “ Their huts are all consumed, and the hospitals and stores on every estate are no longer open to their necessities.” “ The poor creatures

are sullen and desponding, and, although they have returned to work, their behaviour is constrained and sulky, and they feel bitterly the effect of their own misdeeds." He says little of the equally great atrocities of the white rebels, but only regrets "the ebullition of public feeling" in "the destruction of many Baptist chapels." This is speaking lightly of such crimes as arson, and robbery, and murderous excesses, committed in open day even by magistrates. The bishop seems also to have yielded to the colonial prejudice against the missionaries. For what else does he mean by alluding to the mischief alleged to have arisen from "the perversion of Scripture, and the fatal effect produced thereby on the minds of the Negroes?" This evil he has been trying to counteract by printing extracts from the Homilies on rebellion, &c.

The bishop has under him in the whole diocese of Jamaica, including the Bahamas, 28 catechists.—But what are they among so many?

### 13. MR. EDMUND SHARP.

Mr. Sharp lived in Jamaica from 1811 to 1832, and had been a book-keeper two years, and an overseer afterwards on various estates, having on them from 150 to 600 slaves. He has no property there himself. He had observed the following improvements of late:—1st. Slave evidence was allowed against free persons, though, he admitted, so recently that no instance of its operation had come under his observation. 2nd. Marriage was allowed, but with the owner's sanction. 3rd. The separation of families was forbidden.\* Plantation labour commenced at sunrise and continued to sunset,† with intervals of two hours and a half. The hardest work is digging cane-holes, but it is not so hard as coal-heaving; 70 cane-holes is a day's work for an able man or woman. When dug by task the slave saves time, sometimes two or three hours, with which he does what he pleases. The other work of an estate is comparatively light. In crop-time about 26 persons are employed about the works, so that 52 are required for keeping spell, dividing the night between them. Those who keep spell at night leave the field half an hour before the others. On strong-handed estates, affording three spells, the night labour is lighter, and one spell rests

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\* This, however, is a mistake. The law is just in the same defective state as ever.

† The law says, from five in the morning till seven at night.

the whole of every alternate night. He considers 26 days in the year, with occasional reasonable additions, sufficient for cultivating their grounds; he does not say whether with or without Sunday labour. The slave seldom has to resort to his master's store for food if he properly employs his own time. His property is his own to sell, or will, as he pleases. Mr. Sharp's remarks on population partake of all the hackneyed and mistaken notions of the colonists on that subject, and may be fairly thrown aside as unsound both in fact and argument. Mr. Sharp finds it difficult to decide when the slave will be fit for emancipation; but he is quite sure he will not work when free beyond his own few immediate wants. The condition of the slaves is much improved, Mr. Sharp thinks, of late years; but here he blunders in confounding law with practice. Catechists are occasionally employed to teach the slaves, but he does not specify what is taught, or how much time is given to instruction. The slaves were improving in disposition, but they have been unhinged by late events. They now look to emancipation as leading to a life of idleness, free from all restraint. Emancipation in their present state would lead to all excess, and property and life would be insecure. The African dreads it as a subjection of the weak to the strong, and the old and young would become destitute;\* and the property of the planters, without labourers, would become valueless.† Nine hours a day, prescribed by the Order in Council, is too limited for the manufacture of sugar.‡ Sending out two pair of shoes would be ruinous.§ The matter of food should be left to the kindly feelings of planters, who must be the best judges.|| Immediate emancipation would be the greatest misfortune that could befall the slaves (p. 779—781).

Mr. Sharp had known free men cultivate coffee, never sugar. The free man would not degrade himself by labouring with the slave. If

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\* And yet nothing is more certain than that even now, in a state of slavery, the old and young are not maintained by the masters, but by the slaves.

† What, then, is to become of the labourers? Are they to die of freedom?

‡ Mr. Sharp makes the present labour out of crop to be only nine hours and a half, and the Order in Council does not forbid the planter to *hire* night labour.

§ Why send them out? Are there no hides in the island?

|| Unfortunately this is a bad dependence, as is proved by experience; witness the Leeward Islands (above, p. 56).

all were free, still they would not labour in the field ; and this he inferred from no free man ever having done it. On coffee plantations, free men, he says, work with *their own* slaves. Yet he does not believe the free would cultivate the ground for hire in any case. Free men sometimes cultivate sugar canes for their hogs. The lands of the Negroes are generally well cultivated. On good soil 26 days are enough ; not on bad soil. Poor soils will not yield enough by 26 days' cultivation. Some cultivate on Sundays and at their dinner hours. The punishments he inflicted were rare, and with switches, not with the whip. The whip in the field, he thinks, may be abolished ; he has done without it himself, and substituted solitary confinement, and the stocks, and switches which draw blood but do not leave marks ; they are inflicted on the posteriors of men and women, and on both by the hands of men (p. 782—786).

The hogs of slaves were shot when they got into the cane pieces (p. 786).

Many free people lived about the estates he managed ; some were mechanics, and some cultivated land, if they could get it, raising food for themselves, and growing cocoa, arrow-root, &c. ; but he had never seen them acquire much property beyond that. Many slaves acquire property, not only by cultivation, but by raising hogs and poultry. A slave of Mr. Mitchell's, on Bushy Park, a mason, who built the works there, had slaves of his own, and possessed some houses in Spanish Town : he treated his own slaves kindly, as far as he knew (p. 787, 788).

Mr. Sharp admitted that slaves working at task-work were much more industrious, that they might gain time ; but did not believe, notwithstanding this, that they would work for wages. The book-keepers and overseers are bound to inspect the Negro grounds, for they make a return on oath every three months. The return is made and sworn to, but the grounds are not always inspected. There are few proprietors in Jamaica ; therefore the slaves cannot be attached to *them* : their attachment to an overseer depends on circumstances (p. 789, 790).

Mr. Sharp is, on the whole, the fairest colonial witness we have met with.

#### 14. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, Esq.

The evidence of this gentleman before the House of Commons will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, at p. 440. That given before



the House of Lords hardly differs from it, and need not be re-stated. He tells the same absurd story, with embellishments, of his going, at the head of an armed party, into a Negro village, and having a disclaimer from them of any wish for freedom. Mr. Dignum's credulity is the most absurd part of this absurd story and of the sweeping inference he draws from it. It may be useful to give Mr. Dignum's explanation to the slaves of what he meant by freedom, and which, doubtless, is the orthodox colonial doctrine on the subject. The following dialogue takes place between him and Timothy, the head driver, an intelligent man. There was a great number of slaves listening to it. "Timothy," said Mr. Dignum, "suppose your master says he will give you free to-morrow ;—but this is not your land : you may take your hogs and poultry with you. But, if he makes you free, you must go and work some where for any body who will take you ; and he must get some one in your place, and give him this house." He said, "Ah, you hear the word the Captain say !" Mr. Dignum continued, "Your master says you are free, and you may go away, Timothy. You get on the road, and are very hungry, and have nothing to fill your belly. You know that Negroes do not like to see free people coming to their place to beg for food. You will be turned away like a dog, as you always turn away the free people when they come to beg of you here. You will be driven away in the same manner. Then you will get very sick on the road, and call for doctor. Now, Timothy, you must recollect master will not pay for doctor. When you are his servant, it is his interest to keep you in good health. Now you work for him, and you have a comfortable house according to your desert." He said, "You hear the good word the Captain say. I hope the Captain does not suspect any one of us. We are all good people. Massa, we no want for free ;" meaning they had no wish to be emancipated.

What a driveller must Captain Dignum have appeared in the eyes of Timothy, if he regarded this conversation as serious ! And how much more surprised will he be if he should hear that the Captain had produced it on oath, before a Committee of the House of Lords, as a proof that neither he nor his fellows desired their freedom !—(p. 813.)

As for Mr. Dignum's circumstantial details respecting the evidence taken in Manchioneal, which he says showed a connection of the late insurrection with St. Domingo and a general ramification throughout the

island (all this being stated on mere hearsay),—together with the story of Mr. Panton's slave having taken a letter from St. James to Manchioneal, and afterwards having killed himself,—there is not one syllable of it in the examinations taken by the Jamaica Assembly, and which have been laid on the table of Parliament. The whole, therefore, must be regarded as a fable, as the mere gossip of Mr. Dignum and his informants (p. 814—821).

Mr. Dignum understood that the sectarian chapels were destroyed by the militia, aided by the slaves belonging to the sectarian congregations; but this he only knew from newspaper rumour. A slave of his own had belonged to a Methodist chapel, who told him he was not *obliged* to contribute money, but he nevertheless did do so. All he knew of the bad instruction given by the sectarian missionaries was from newspaper reports. He knew nothing of it himself (p. 818, 819). And as to free men being mendicants, he only knew of that too from hearsay, however confidently he had spoken of it (p. 820). He saw no jealousy on the part of the slaves to his entering their houses, though he went at the head of an armed party; but still he thought they would be jealous of the visits of a protector. The appointment of a protector, moreover, would degrade the master's authority in the eyes of the slaves, and would breed discontents and complaints, and do much evil (p. 824).

Mr. Dignum said that, in the late insurrection, great barbarities, amounting to murder and rape, had been committed by the slaves, in every instance where whites had fallen into their power, such as ripping open bowels, and scalping heads, and throwing children into the fire. He had heard of trials proving these facts in St James but he had not been present at them himself\* (p. 657).

Mr. Dignum did not believe there was any truth in what was said of the attachment of slaves to the missionaries, or their regret for the burning of the chapels; he thought it was quite the contrary. To prove this, he told one of his strange stories, as follows: "On my way to the assizes, in July last, I staid a day or two with Mr. Jobson, of Cotton Pen, in St. Ann. He told me it was very unpleasant to him—the constant singing during the night of psalms and hymns by the

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\* This must also be untrue. We have seen the Jamaica newspapers and have met with no such trials.

slaves; that he could not rest, and he thought it injurious to their health. But he did not like to prevent it; for rather than be troubled with questions from the Colonial Office, as Mr. Betty\* was, he preferred the annoyance going on to interfering with it. On my visit to him in March last, on my way to the assizes, I heard the gomby and the slaves dancing to it; and, on my making the remark that the sounds were very different from those I heard last July, his answer was that he had been speaking to his head driver that morning, and asking him how Methodism was going on; his answer was, ‘Massa, I am very glad Methodism is all over, chapel down, and minister gone, for so long as the chapel was standing and minister there we were obliged to give our money, or we should be read out of the chapel, but now we have our fowls and our money, and do not spend our money as we did before, and we go to church.’ While he was saying this, a man passed, and addressed him ‘Daddy,’ the name he was called among the Baptists, he being a Baptist; he said, ‘Do not call me daddy now: call me father, as you used to do.’ Mr. Jobson added that since the chapel was destroyed the slaves were more cheerful, and had their amusements of dancing and gomby, and were attending church. He had heard complaints about losing rest by singing psalms at late hours, ever since the missionaries had been in the island (p. 958).

Mr. Dignum had never heard the slaves complain of the courts that tried them. The slaves were many of them very ignorant; but it was their feeling that they could obtain justice against acts of oppression, though the oppressor was their master. He does not believe that of late the slaves are disposed to suppress their complaints from a fear of not having redress; but frivolous complaints have of late been so much attended to by Government that complaints multiply: and this Mr. Dignum thought a strong argument against having protectors (p. 559). There is no bias which prevents a slave obtaining justice. He has seen, by the newspapers, of overseers being fined for misconduct. He has heard also of many frivolous complaints being dismissed. He had never heard of slaves being oppressed by overseers for having made frivolous complaints to magistrates, or of their having been punished for the evidence they may have given.

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\* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii., No. 69, p. 431; and vol. iv., No. 76, p. 136; No. 77, p. 145.

## 15. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq.

This gentleman's evidence was confined to one or two points, and did not go to the same extent as in the House of Commons. He seems to have been called chiefly to weaken, if he could, the powerful effect of Mr. Taylor's evidence, by representing him on his oath, to the Committee, as a weak and chimerical visionary, unworthy of attention : an attempt, we doubt not, in which he completely failed. And he took the occasion to declare also, on his oath, his belief that any overseer who should be mad and profligate enough to punish a woman for refusing to sleep with him would incur the risk of being driven from society and punished. This, however, is quite as true as that Mr. Taylor is a weak and chimerical visionary.

## 16. MR. EDWARD JOHN WOLSEY.

Mr. Wolsey, a native of the United States, resided in Hayti six months as a merchant, collecting debts for his father. He had been on estates growing the sugar cane ; but sugar is badly manufactured, from the ignorance of the Negroes who manage the estates. The labourers are indolent and do little, but are happy in their indolence. They grow a great deal of coffee, which does not require much labour, but not sugar. They trade much both with the United States and with England. Many of the population, both black and coloured, wear shoes. The blacks and browns do not seem to like each other. The trade, he thought, had fallen off from the very low price of produce, added to the indolence of the people. They were expecting there might be a French invasion, but had no fear of the result. He saw much of the blacks. Reading and writing are the chief branches of education, and music, of which they are fond, and play well. Piano-fortes are very common among them. Music is taught by blacks. The religion is Catholic. The proportion of the married is small ; but their manners are not dissolute, for they maintain a kind of matrimonial connection among all classes, high and low. They call it *placing* themselves, and, though no legal ceremony takes place, they raise and educate their children and treat them as if they were legally married (p. 1057—1060).

Mr. Wolsey lived on a plantation which grew cane, the juice of which was boiled into thick syrup and made into rum. The labourers worked but



little, though they were partners in the estate, every one receiving his share. All the cultivators were partners in the produce of the estate, but he did not know the proportions. He has, however, seen beautiful sugar made in Hayti; but in general they use syrup instead of sugar, and the syrup is so thick that it does not ferment. He has not seen any of them work hard. A few hours' labour in the day is enough for their wants. He never knew any instance of coercion but one, where a man was brought back to the estate, having quitted it, but he was not flogged (p. 1061, 1062).

Mr. Wolsey was also on a cotton estate belonging to an Englishman, worked by slaves, in South Carolina. He never saw the whip used there, though they worked indolently. Rice and tobacco are also grown by slaves. He believed very little of either would be grown if the blacks were made free. The blacks were lazy, but it was possible the whites might be equally lazy, if they were placed in the same situation in that hot climate. The climate enervates the system; he found it so himself (p. 1062, 1063).

The public works and roads in Hayti are very good,—beautiful. The French, he believes, made them. He saw the Haytian troops; they are not in a bad state; they looked very well. He understood there were 45,000 of them. The Hayti tobacco is very good. Coffee, mahogany, and logwood are their chief exports. He had no fear of insecurity in Hayti. A man may safely avow himself a Protestant there. The missionaries are chiefly in towns (p. 1064, 1065),

#### 17. THOMAS WILLIAMS, Esq.

Mr. Williams resided 15 years in Berbice as a planter, and left it in May, 1832. A body of slaves, called the Winkels, chiefly artificers belonging to Government, were emancipated lately: their number is about 300. A great many are men of very good character, well disposed; some are vagrants. Most of them were educated, particular attention having been bestowed on them by Mr. Wray, a missionary. This, therefore, Mr. Williams thinks, is no fair experiment. These men too are artificers. It does not follow that emancipated persons will work as agricultural labourers for hire. He offered a free man a dollar a day to cut canes, but he refused with disdain (p. 1066, 1063).

Mr. Williams had 370 slaves, and his estate made 500 hogsheads of

sugar. They work by task. The plough is not used : it does not answer. No whip is carried in the field in Berbice, and having tasks assigned it may be dispensed with. The hours of labour are from six to six, with intervals of three hours. There are two missionaries in Berbice, and in some places education is beginning (p. 1068, 1069).

Being asked if the Winkels had become a burden to the colony, he said, Not so much as they will be. Freedom is a novelty to them at present, and many of them have it in view to procure fine clothes and luxuries, but, having obtained these, many will become indolent. He thought only one-fourth of them would work industriously.—That is saying, in fact, though reluctantly, that they are *not* burdens on the colony, and are industrious (p. 1070).

Mr. Williams has known £500 paid for a valuable slave, a boiler, and for a good field slave £300; but their price would now be not more than a third.

#### 18. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq.

We come now to the last remaining witness who was examined on the pro-slavery side in the House of Lords, Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the salaried agent of that colony. Much of this gentleman's evidence, if evidence it can be called, more resembles the *ex parte* pleading of an advocate than the testimony of a sworn witness deposing to the facts of a case; indeed, it is avowedly a *defence* of his constituents as well as of himself personally, and was evidently prepared and arranged with considerable care. But we are willing to accept it even on these terms; for we are far from thinking that it has had any very great effect in bolstering up the sinking cause of slavery, but rather has aided in its subversion.

Mr. Burge was 20 years resident in Jamaica, and is owner, by right of his wife, of a coffee plantation in Manchester, with about 130 slaves upon it.

Mr. Burge first produces a statement to the Committee the object of which is to show that the property in slaves had been created by this country. This statement contains the following heads :—

A. Origin and foundation of the African trade, and proceedings of Government and Parliament relative thereto.\*

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\* A part of these papers relates to the transactions of the Jamaica Assembly in

B. Respects laws and other proceedings for the melioration of the slave population.

C. Laws for the melioration of the free people of colour.

D. Papers relative to certain instances of maltreatment of slaves, and proceedings thereupon.

E. Papers relating to the late rebellion in Jamaica.

F. Miscellaneous papers.

All of these, with the exception of that part of the last head which relates to the condition, in 1825, of three estates belonging to Lord Seaforth, and the list of manumissions granted in Jamaica between 1817 and Dec. 1830, are a mere transcript of papers already on the table, and in the hands of every member, of Parliament ; and, with respect to the exceptions, they are papers destitute of any adequate authentication, the agent of Lord Seaforth, whoever he may be, being alone answerable for the one, and no responsible officer of the Crown being answerable for the correctness of the other, as has always been the case in every return of the same nature from other colonies. The Jamaica returns come to us in this instance from the Assembly through Mr. Burge, instead of coming through the Governor to the Secretary of State, under the official signature of the proper officer, who, we believe, is the Secretary of the island. The omission of this necessary formality, in the case of Jamaica alone, renders the accuracy of the document an object of some suspicion, especially as there are variations, in the different returns which have been received from Jamaica respecting manumissions, which cannot be reconciled except by explanations which the proper officer is alone competent to give ; and in the case of bequests of freedom especially, dependent on conditions, no distinct information is given as to the fulfilment of such bequests. See papers of 1823, No. 347, and of 1826, No. 353, &c., compared with the document now furnished by Mr. Burge.

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1774, on the subject of a duty which they levied on slaves imported, but which was disapproved by the then Board of Trade. The whole turns out to be a mere financial operation, an easy mode of replenishing the Jamaica treasury, which the Government at home disallowed, but which had not the slightest mixture of any philanthropic desire to lessen the horrors of that trade, or to deprive Jamaica of what were supposed to be the advantages of its importations. It is downright hypocrisy to refer to it in that view.

We have so often exposed the defence again set up by Mr. Burge for the conduct adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the pretended amelioration of their slave laws, and generally of their intolerant enactments in respect to religion, that we should only be repeating what has already been said over and over again, even to satiety. All we think it necessary to do, therefore, is to refer to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. ii., No. 29, p. 103—111; No. 33, p. 177—182; and No. 38, p. 261—270; vol. iii., No. 65, p. 349—361; vol. iv., No. 82; and vol. v., No. 93. Mr. Burge admitted that, officially, he had never known of any pecuniary contributions to the mission fund which were not perfectly voluntary, free-will offerings on the part of the slaves, or that any inconvenience to the police and good government of the island had arisen from the nightly meetings of sectarian congregations (p. 968, 969).

Mr. Burge states that “the two particular clauses which caused the act of 1826 to be rejected by his Majesty are not contained in the act of 1831.” He is then asked, “Are there clauses of a similar nature in the law of 1831?” His reply is, “I will beg to refer your Lordships to the clause itself. By the 84th clause, the practice of nightly and other meetings is declared unlawful, and punishment inflicted on persons attending them.” Now this clause 84 in the act of 1831 corresponds, verbatim et literatim, with clause 88 of the act of 1826, and has no relation whatever to the *three*—(not *two*, as Mr. Burge asserts)—particular clauses which have been expunged from the act of 1831, viz. clauses 85, 86, and 87 of the act of 1826. Does Mr. Burge, then, mean to say that the clause 88 of the act of 1826, which is retained and now forms clause 84 of the act of 1831, was directed by a side wind against religious meetings? If so, then the proceedings of the Assembly are still more insidious than we were disposed to believe. Both these clauses are directed against the practice of nightly and other *private* meetings of slaves. Was it meant that in the term *private* meetings were to be comprehended meetings for *public* religious worship with open doors? If not, then the object of his reference is not very obvious; because this cannot be said to be a law of “a similar nature” to the rejected clauses, which were directed exclusively to religion. But if he does mean that the term is to be understood as comprehending nightly *public* meetings for *religious* worship, then we should be at a loss for words to designate as it deserves such atrocious obli-



quity of legislation, such a fraud on the government, and parliament, and people of England. Mr Burge, we conceive, is bound to clear up this ambiguity, if it were only for the sake of his constituents.

Mr. Burge very dexterously suggests to their Lordships, as an apology for the existing slave legislation of Jamaica, viz. the law of 1831, the consideration that, “if they looked merely at the written laws which regard the condition of the slaves, they would do great injustice; they must enquire, not only for the written law, but the usage” (p. 970).

Now we do not deny that, if we were contemplating an enactment which, being of ancient date, had become obsolete, and being superseded by usage, like the old laws against witchcraft in this country, had fallen into total desuetude, the argument of Mr. Burge might be a very fair and legitimate argument. But what would the parliament or public of England say to a grave proposal to re-enact the statutes against witchcraft in the year 1831? The charge against the Assembly of Jamaica is not that they had formerly enacted bad laws; but that being called to repeal bad laws, and having professed to employ themselves in a thorough revision of their slave code, they had deliberately, and in direct opposition to the urgent representations of the King’s government and the unanimous voice of the British nation, determined to re-enact them. The very apology of Mr. Burge candidly admits the badness of the former enactments; and yet the Assembly adhere to them as to their very life’s blood; and are ready to dare the omnipotence of the British parliament, in order to retain them entire on their statute book. The laws which Mr. Burge ventures to defend—(we commiserate the necessity he is under of doing so),—such as the law respecting slave evidence and bequests to slaves, as well as that respecting Sunday markets, are instances in point. They are a solemn mockery of legislation; and Mr. Burge must be convinced that they are so. Let the reader look especially at those laws which he represents as the masterpieces of improved Jamaica legislation, the law on evidence, and that on property, as they stand in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, p. 446, and above at p. 23, and he will be satisfied on this point. They are not laws—they are frauds in the shape of laws. So the provision for “abolishing” Sunday markets is, in fact, a provision for legalizing them during a moiety of the Sunday; and the law for *securing*—(see the margin of clause 15 of the act of 1831)—bequests to slaves contains the proviso “that nothing therein

contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity for the recovery of such legacy, or to make it necessary to make any slave a defendant to a suit in equity;" and that even if the legatee's owner should institute a suit for his benefit he shall first give "security for costs."

In the same spirit Mr. Burge holds high the justice and liberality of the Jamaica planters for not molesting their slaves in the possession of their grounds and of any peculium they may thence raise. We are not disposed to dispute the fact that proprietors in general, nay, we may say almost universally, are disposed to encourage and protect their slaves, in cultivating land and raising provisions for their own use and that of their families, and that the very first and most essential means of attaining this object is a reasonable degree of security to the slave that he shall not be disturbed in the enjoyment of what he may raise. Without this the slave would have no motive to cultivate his allotment, and the master would in that case be forced to supply him with food, or suffer him and his family to perish from absolute want. The master gives him land, therefore, and time to cultivate it, not from any feeling of humanity, but on the pure principle of commercial economy. The clear obligation of the master is to feed the slaves. He frees himself entirely from this indispensable and onerous obligation, by throwing the whole burden of it upon them, substituting land and time for the food that must otherwise be supplied to them. To abridge them of either, or of any part of the produce they raise by means of them, would be an act not only of the most atrocious pillage, but of the most egregious folly. It would be as if a master, having given to a slave the daily loaf he deemed adequate to his subsistence, were then to rob him of half and apply it to his own use. We can conceive no human beings so utterly destitute of all feeling of right as to act on any such system. Thus far, therefore, the disclaimer of Mr. Burge was wholly uncalled for, and he might have spared it. But is the property of the slave therefore secure, in point either of law or of fact? In point of law it obviously is not. He is debarred from all right of suit or action on account of it, not only against his master or manager, but against any other person whatever, unless by his master's direct intervention. But, besides this, he may at any time be seized and incarcerated for an indefinite time, and finally sold for his master's debts, without the power of revisiting his domicile, or taking

a single step to realize it, or to preserve it from ruin. Nay, what does Mr. Sharp, one of Mr. Burge's own witnesses, tell us (see his evidence, p. 786)? When a slave's hog, he says, gets into a cane piece, "the usual practice is that the watchman kills it." And in Berbice, before the law of slave property was altered, as it ought to have been altered in Jamaica, we read of a case of a manager, Mr. Luyken, who admitted that he had killed ten hogs belonging to one slave, named Leander, and then put him in the stocks for complaining. The Fiscal dismissed the case as one violating no law (see the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. i. pages 41, and 236). Numberless other cases might be stated, where, without any direct spoliation, the property of a slave is liable to be completely destroyed by the conduct of a manager. See the evidence of Mr. Duncan, as it was given before this Committee. Take for example also the instance of the wanton and cruel outrage committed by Mr. Betty, the magistrate of St. Ann, on the person of Henry Williams, not only in punishing him, but sending him, by his own authority, and without trial or even the allegation of crime, to a distant work-house, and there confining him for months under its torturing discipline, and all this with perfect impunity to the perpetrator beyond the expression of Lord Goderich's displeasure. Let this one case be duly considered, and we shall at once be enabled to appreciate the insecurity of slave property in a state of the law such as that which Mr. Burge so warmly eulogizes. The spoliation of the property of Henry Williams, we admit, was not Mr. Betty's direct object, but that property was as effectually injured as if Mr. Betty had robbed him of it with his own hand (see *Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. iii. p. 356 and 431).

Mr. Burge's statement on oath, therefore, of the effect of the 14th clause of the Jamaica Act of 1831, as giving a legal right of property to the slaves, is a gross misconstruction of its plain and obvious tenor.

The invidious remarks about the Colonial Office, by whomsoever suggested, are wholly beneath notice (p. 975).

Mr. Burge takes immense pains to establish a communication between the Colonial Office and the insurgent Negroes in Jamaica—between Mr. Stephen, we presume, and the rebel Gardiner; for he infers, from the confession of a man of that name, that he was acquainted with the intention of Lord Goderich to recal Lord Belmore six weeks before the despatch was sent from this country. And all this mighty structure he founds on these words in Gardiner's confession.

Mr. Burge is evidently ashamed to quote them, he only refers to them. "We did not think," says Gardiner, "that the king's soldiers or sailors would fight against us. I even heard that the king had taken away the Governor some weeks ago, and that the country was left to ourselves; and that Colonel Williams, who is master of plenty of slaves, was joining in keeping back our freedom, and to get himself made the Governor down this side. I also thought that other gentlemen who were in other parts, and had plenty of slaves, were doing as Colonel Williams was trying to do" (p. 1352). Now all this wretched drivelling would really be below contempt but for the dark insinuation grounded upon it in a grave and solemn tone by Mr. Burge. It shows at least to what extremities his perverse ingenuity has reduced him in order to fix some traitor in the Colonial Office with the guilt of originating the Jamaica conspiracy, and of conveying, to some one from whom Gardiner hears it, that Lord Belmore was to be taken away, and Colonel Williams (who is he?) named as his successor. The whole affair is really too ridiculous for any purpose but to show that there exist minds capable of the fatuity of drawing such inferences from such premises.

Mr. Burge also seems to have altogether forgotten that, supposing the confession of Gardiner to contain any allusion to Lord Belmore's recal, there were in the course of that and the preceding year abundant grounds for such a rumour. The sharpness of the rebukes Lord B. had received in regard to his supineness in the affair of Mr. Betty and Henry Williams, all of which were published in Jamaica, was sufficient of itself to produce such an impression and such a rumour. But the most extraordinary part of the case is that Mr. Burge should think of bringing such nonsense, passing verbally through so many different unknown channels, as evidence to be adduced on oath before the Committee of the House of Lords. It is importing the laughable looseness of Jamaica examinations into England. It reminds us of the evidence in the St. Mary's plot, to which we have adverted above.

And as for the belief of the slaves that the British Government desired their freedom, and that the planters did not, but were violently opposed to it, what was this but the truth?—a truth which the planters, by the violence and exaggeration of their speeches and resolutions, during the months immediately preceding the insurrection, did all they



could (as if it had been their interest thus to delude the slaves) to impress upon their minds, and that to an extent far beyond the truth. This delusion was their own proper work. The fact that it was so, is written as with a sunbeam in the pages of all the Jamaica journals during the months of July, August, September, and October, 1831.

Mr. Burge further labours to convey to the Committee the impression that the violent conduct of the planters of Jamaica was reasonably excited against the government in 1823 and 1824, by the belief that the abolitionists then enjoyed the confidence, and guided the counsels, of his Majesty's ministers. Never was any statement more untrue than that which would represent Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst, and Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Wilmot Horton, as swayed by the abolitionists. No confidence existed between them whatever. Neither in parliament nor out of parliament was there any concord, but much disagreement. The abolitionists disapproved entirely of the policy of that administration in leaving the work of legislation to the colonies; and even the very measures proposed to their adoption were suggested to ministers by the colonial club; and so Lord Bathurst openly avowed. In confirmation of this fact it is certain that any dissent from the ministerial measures of 1823 and 1824 expressed in Parliament, was not by the West Indians, but by the abolitionists; and almost the last act of Mr. Wilberforce's parliamentary life, which gave great umbrage to Mr. Canning, and excited from him a reply of some asperity, was to declare his utter hopelessness of any beneficial result from the plan pursued by ministers. Mr. Canning's habits of familiar intercourse lay with West Indians; for example, with Lord Seaforth and Lord Dudley. Lord Bathurst's speech in the House of Lords, in 1824, was almost dictated by Major Moody; and Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlets and reviews were put into active circulation by the colonial club, and by them dispersed throughout the colonies. Is it not, under these circumstances, something too much for Mr. Burge to come before the Committee to swear to such a mis-statement?—(p. 982, 983.)

Mr. Burge gets a question put to him about his own appointment, which gives him the opportunity of highly praising his official conduct, as Attorney-General, and holding it up as a model of zeal and vigilance on behalf of the slaves. When he became Attorney-General, he became, he says, *emphatically*, the protector of the blacks. We pretend not to

say what Mr. Burge may have done privately, in the use of his powers, for the redress of individual cases of cruelty. He may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been as active, and watchful, and liberal, as he asserts himself to have been. But we *do* know that he was the adviser of the Duke of Manchester in 1823 and 1824, during which time more acts of unrighteous oppression (and for these we refer to the records of parliament) took place, than it were easy to enumerate. And among them were the trials and executions in St. Mary, in which revolting case the Duke of Manchester distinctly says he acted on Mr. Burge's advice. There were also the cases of trials and executions in St. George, in Hanover, and in St. James, all marked with the same traits of illegality, injustice, and oppression, as those of St. Mary. There were also the cases of Lecesne, Escoffery, and Gonville, in which Mr. Burge was a principal actor, but in which he was so signally worsted. Of *all* these cases Mr. Burge was cognizant. In *some* of them he took a prominent part. In all of them he was the Duke of Manchester's law adviser; and we feel perfectly persuaded that against his advice the Duke would not have acted. Certainly we find nothing in these transactions which manifests the deep interest he professes to have taken in protecting slaves from oppression.

All the cruelties detailed in anti-slavery publications, he says, have taken place since he quitted the island. But he had not quitted either office or the island in 1823 and 1824. All the atrocities that have occurred since do not equal those of that period. The St. Mary's affair alone would stamp an age with cruelty and injustice, to say nothing of the others. All that Mr. Burge, therefore, states, on his oath, in praise of his administration of the law, must give way before the broad, the immovable facts of those cases, the evidence on all of which Mr. Burge had seen before they were transmitted to England; for he was the Attorney-General at the time (p. 982, 986).

Mr. Burge proceeds to praise the magistracy of Jamaica, as persons who would be most unjustly described as men of hardened feelings. He thought favourably of *them*, as well as of the general tone of moral and religious feeling in Jamaica (p. 986, 987). We do not admit the competency of any man, who took the part that Mr. Burge took in the St. Mary's trials and executions, and in the other transactions of 1823 and 1824, including Lecesne's affair, to be a witness in a matter not of fact, but of feeling.

He swears that he believes the assembly and planters of Jamaica are not anxious to perpetuate slavery : they only desire the Negro's fitness for freedom.—Mr. Taylor's views he, of course, considers as visionary and impracticable (p. 988).

He labours hard to prove that the law of Jamaica may punish an overseer who is not able to show that he had good ground for inflicting thirty-nine lashes, or any smaller number, on any slave, male or female, subject to him. The attempt, with all Mr. Burge's special pleading, is an utter failure. It is true that clauses 29, 30, 31, and 32, of the last Act, do provide that owners or managers, *mutilating or dismembering, or wantonly or cruelly whipping, maltreating, beating, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning or confining without sufficient support, or branding, any slave, shall be liable to be indicted for such offence, and upon conviction may be punished by fine, not exceeding £100 currency* [about £70 sterling; of course the fine may be one farthing, for there is no minimum], *or imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, or both, for each slave so treated, with a power to the court, in atrocious cases, if the court thinks it necessary, to declare the slave free, and to assign to the slave when free an annuity of £10 ; and further empowering the slave so treated to apply to any justice of the peace, and, if the justice is satisfied of the truth of the complaint, he shall certify the matter to the Custos, who shall convene a special sessions to make further enquiry ; and, if they find the complaint well-founded, they shall certify the same to the clerk of the peace with a view to the prosecution of the offender, and bind over the offender and the witnesses to appear ; and the said special sessions shall constitute a council of protection to prosecute to effect such offender, the parish paying the expense, if the offender cannot.* Now all this process is cumbersome enough. However, if it were effective to its object, its defect in this respect might be forgiven. But then, that there may be no mistake as to such an enactment being intended to interfere with the *moderate* and *customary* exercise of plantation discipline, these four clauses are immediately followed by another, the 33d, which is intended, most plainly and obviously, to set masters and managers completely at rest as to any apprehension, that they shall be liable to the penalties of the former clauses, if they do but restrain themselves within certain prescribed limits, viz. drivers within ten lashes, and owners, managers, or their delegates, within thirty-nine

lashes, at one time and for one offence, and shall not inflict the same twice in one day, or until the delinquent shall have recovered from the effects of his former ten or thirty-nine lashes. And the violation of these restrictions may be visited summarily, on conviction before three magistrates, by a fine of not less than £10 currency, or more than £20, or commitment to prison for not more than ten days.

We have been thus precise, in order to show the utter fallacy of Mr. Burge's law on this subject. The clause which restricts masters or managers to thirty-nine lashes, and drivers to ten, does not say one word of the offences, on the part of the slave, which must be pleaded in justification of these licensed inflictions. He must be *proved* to have exceeded the legal limit as to the number of lashes, or to have inflicted them twice in one day, or before former stripes were healed; otherwise the penalty does not attach. Mr. Burge knows as well as any man that penal statutes must be construed strictly; and here there is not one word, no not a single letter, which can affect any owner or overseer, or any delegate of such, who shall (he being present) inflict, or cause to be inflicted, with or without one reason proved or even assigned; for any offence, or for no offence; 39 lashes of the cart-whip, or of the driver's whip, if Mr. Burge is too squeamish to endure the former term. We may, therefore, leave Mr. Burge to his ingenious special pleading on the subject, throwing in Mr. Dignum to aid him in making out his argument. It is really too bad to have our common sense insulted by such Tom-fooleries, under the name of law. Even Boyden's case, we venture to say, is not correctly represented by Mr. Burge. For there (we speak from recollection) not only was circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind adduced against him, but there was one free witness who directly testified to the outrage (p. 989).

Mr. Burge's opinion, which he enforces certainly with great ingenuity as well as force, as to the unfitness of the slaves in Jamaica for immediate emancipation, is of course just such an opinion as was to be expected from Mr. Burge. He has done his best for his clients. But all his efforts, if they were multiplied tenfold, will not explain, consistently with his reasoning, the appalling and damnatory fact that his constituents should have renewed, in 1831, with scarcely any material improvement, the slave law of 1816; even the *seeming* improvements being no better than studied evasions (p. 990—993).

Mr. Burge evidently dislikes the missionaries. He swears that he has



not and has never had any feeling of intolerance, but he thinks it better that religious instruction should be given by clergymen (the Bishop to wit, and Archdeacon Pope, with his 700 slaves, and Mr. Bridges, the master of Kitty Hilton, and Mr. Girod, &c. &c.) But one great fault he has to find with the missionaries is their not having mixed with the general society of the whites, and with the bar at the assizes. What kind of missionaries must they have been to have done so? How many houses could they have entered where the vice of concubinage did not obtrude itself upon them with brazen front? And as for a missionary taking part in *grand night*, at a Kingston or Cornwall assize, it would have been not a little incongruous with his character. It was for Mr. B., and such as he, to have sought out these humble and retiring servants of Christ, and to have given them countenance and protection. He was struck, it seems, with the feelings of irritation that some of them had manifested in the course of their examination in the Committee, and he supposes it might have been modified by the turtle and Madeira in which the prejudices of the whites had excluded them from participating. We know the potency which West Indians ascribe to good dinners, and their fatal influence on many a member of Parliament in relation to this question. But Mr. Burge mistakes his men. He is not to suppose because Mr. Barry, and Mr. Duncan, and Mr. Knibb have astonished him and their Lordships, by their manly bearing, by their dauntless self-possession, by their powers of intelligence and observation, and shown themselves fully equal to any association even with the noble, that it was the object of their low ambition to covet the favour and convivial intimacy of their superiors. Their ambition took a loftier flight. They were intent on pursuing their high and holy calling. They had a mighty task committed to their trust;—to rescue the perishing souls of thousands from sin and eternal death;—to break the spiritual fetters which bound them in a still bitterer bondage than that of the stocks and the cart-whip;—and to raise them from the slavery of Satan to the liberty of the sons of God. And they have done much; and they have already had their rich reward: and He, whose they are, and whom they serve—He who can form a more correct judgment of their conduct and their motives than Mr. Burge, will one day say to them, “Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you” (p. 997, 998).

Mr. Burge, while he disclaimed getting up a case for the House of

Lords, frankly and candidly admitted that he, aided by Mr. Markland, a solicitor, had been industrious in obtaining witnesses of information and experience to appear at their Lordship's bar (p. 1000). His success has certainly not been signal.

He also frankly admitted that the funds of the West India Committee were employed in repelling calumnies and misrepresentations by the publication of suitable works (p. 1001). It cannot be said that these, though they have been costly, have been very influential.

Mr. Burge very properly, as we conceive, declined to enter on the case of *Lecesne and Escoffery* (p. 1003).

He professed to take his estimate of the effects of emancipation from the confessions of the slaves lately executed for partaking in the insurrection; and expressed his belief, on oath, that immediate emancipation would be attended with inevitable destruction to the colony. We trust, for the sake of Mr. Burge himself, and of his 130 slaves, that he will prove in this a false prophet (p. 1003, 1004).

Mr. Burge affirmed also on his oath that it is certainly a fact that there is a rooted inveteracy on the part of the slaves towards the coloured population (p. 1004).

Speaking of the Jamaica press, he alluded to the *Watchman* newspaper, which he said, but without one word of truth in the statement, had been set on foot by the Anti-Slavery Society. Had he been Attorney General, he would have put it down. "My firm persuasion is," says Mr. Burge, and certainly never was a more gross untruth uttered, either with an oath or without one, "my firm persuasion is that the Anti-Slavery people in this country have been in the habit of making communications to certain agents of theirs in the island of Jamaica, and this information has been circulated among the slaves. The mischief is done by the communication which takes place, to the slaves themselves, from hence" (p. 1005). Again we say that this is as gross an untruth as was ever uttered, and is totally destitute of even the shadow of a fact on which to rest.—He seemed to think, indeed, that they employed the leaders of the sectaries to facilitate their communications, as far more excitement had existed since missionaries had gone out. And did he ever suppose that knowledge could be communicated without excitement? He must have been a very careless observer of what has been passing, if he indulged that day-dream. No, no; knowledge is power in Jamaica as well as in England, and that Mr.

Burge and his constituents will know ere long. They are not the men to arrest its march. They must consult their own safety by yielding in time to its resistless progress.

Mr. Burge himself had been very discreet, and employed, with *his* slaves, no men who professed “to preach the whole word,” and who held slavery to be incompatible with Christianity. His slaves went to church, and were instructed by the curate, and a better-disposed and more orderly set was nowhere to be found. They continued their work while the overseer was on militia duty. The effects of their instruction thus proved its beneficial tendency. He believed it possible to make them moral and religious—good subjects, good slaves, and good Christians, without producing that abhorrence of slavery which, *it is said*, they must feel, if they are *properly* instructed (p. 1006).

Now this is all very sound and orthodox doctrine, and we perfectly concur in it. There fortunately was no disturbance in any part of Manchester. Had the slaves of Mr. Burge been exposed to the trial, we trust his care, in having them educated, would have been amply rewarded by their peaceable and submissive demeanour. That is quite the natural effect of religion in such circumstances; and such was its effect, as is abundantly proved by the evidence before the Committee, in the case of all the slaves who were really converted by the Methodist and Baptist missionaries, as he may see by the incontestible proofs to that effect adduced by the missionaries. Numerous instances are given by the missionaries, in their evidence, of religious slaves, in the very heart of the disturbed districts, pursuing the very same course, under circumstances of infinitely greater difficulty, which his own slaves are stated by him to have pursued in Manchester. And this is as it ought to be. But ought no credit to be given, for this result, to the instruction of the Methodists and Baptists, as well as to that of the curate of Manchester? But let him not suppose that the best-instructed pupils of either school will decline their freedom when it is placed fairly within their reach. If they are men and Christians, they must have learned to appreciate the blessings of freedom. Moreover, to what, even in the disturbed districts, is to be ascribed the little white blood that has been shed, but to the influence of those very instructions of sectarian missionaries which Mr. Burge and his constituents, in their thorough ignorance of the characters and motives of the men, are disposed to view with so much suspicion?

Mr. Burge has great objections to compulsory manumission. But

we need not follow him in his reasonings upon it: they are happily effete (p. 1006). He is also against abolishing female flogging. He wishes women *to be liable* to be flogged a little longer; but he objects to a direct law on the subject. In point of fact, female flogging exists to a small extent, and it must be allowed to wear out. But how does Mr. Burge know this? Can he swear that 100 women were not flogged yesterday, and 100 the day before? Or can he tell how many? To female flogging Mr. Burge does not seem very sensitive; but still, to propitiate English feeling, not to spare the bared bodies of women from laceration, it might be desirable to make the experiment of abolishing it by an express law.—Neither does he think the whip in the field can be safely abolished.—Neither would it be safe to substitute the magistrate for the master in inflicting corporal punishment.—In short, like a dutiful agent, he is quite of the mind of his employers on all points of improvement (p. 1007). With them, also, he thinks ill of Hayti, and the Code Rural, and stipendiary magistrates. The planter-magistrates are every thing that can be wished. The slaves confide in them (p. 1008, 1009).

Mr. Burge then exhibits a statement of the wealth and resources of Jamaica, which would make it appear that his constituents are the richest, while they cry out lustily that they are the poorest, people on earth. But all this is *en règle*. He then gives tables, which may be fairly passed by, making Jamaica worth 58 millions, and the whole West Indies worth 101 millions sterling (p. 1015—1034).

He then goes on to state the case of West India distress, in the approved style of perennial wailing, and enlarges on the absurd hypothesis that the happiness of the slave is intimately linked with the prosperity of the master; when the very reverse, as every body knows, is the fact (p. 1036, 1037).

Mr. Burge is certain that no overseer who has been guilty of cruelty would find employment in Jamaica. (Cruelty, of course, is a relative, not a positive term. Mr. Burge, for example, could tolerate a little female flogging, while there are some so squeamish as to condemn it altogether.)—There are no cruel overseers in Jamaica, at least according to Mr. Burge's standard (p. 1038, 1039).

Mr. Burge is quite sure, in common with his constituents, although almost every set of parochial resolutions passed, in 1831, by those constituents, proves the contrary, that the apprehension of being



transferred to America never occurred to the Negroes, or had any influence upon them (p. 1039).

He labours also to assure their Lordships, notwithstanding the complete exposure of his views on that subject by Lord Howick in the House of Commons, that the practice of separating families in Jamaica has no foundation in law or in fact; but all his renewed special pleadings on that subject serve, as it appears to us, only to confute his own positions (p. 1040).

Mr. Burge concludes the whole of his harangue (for be it known to our readers that Mr. Burge was not catechised like an ordinary witness, but had the privileges of an *ex parte* pleader allowed him), he winds up, we say, the whole with a pathetic peroration, appealing to the commiseration of their Lordships, and supplicating for delay; till they shall hear what certain delegates, then on their passage to England, have to say to their Lordships; and lest also, by their precipitancy, they shall produce a recurrence of the dreadful scenes we have already witnessed.

We have alluded to the peculiarity of what is called the *evidence* of Mr. Burge, in its being neither more nor less than the speech of an able advocate broken by a few questions. Our mode of treating it has therefore differed from the course we have thought it right to pursue with other witnesses. We are not conscious, however, of having misstated a single sentiment of his address, though we believe we have not left any of his positions altogether unshaken. He is certainly a formidable opponent; but we are, nevertheless, so well satisfied with the issue of this first encounter, that we look forward to a second meeting without the slightest fear of the result.

We have now paid our respects to all the pro-slavery witnesses whom Mr. Burge marshalled under his standard; and we trust that our readers will have been able to form a tolerably just appreciation of their respective claims to credit. Our remaining task will be comparatively easy, while we pass in review the Anti-Slavery array which appeared before the Committee.

## ANTI-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

Of these no less than eight were likewise examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, and their evidence has been already analysed in No. 104 of the Anti-Slavery Reporter (published also as a separate pamphlet), viz.—Mr. Barry, Admiral Fleming, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Knibb, and Mr. Thorp. The evidence given by these gentlemen in both cases being substantially the same, it would be a useless waste of time and labour to do more than supply any additional matter which the course of examination may have elicited in the Lords' Committee, and which may not have been drawn out by the more limited enquiry in that of the House of Commons. Our present abstract, therefore, will be confined to what may be *new* in their evidence.

## I. THE REV. JOHN BARRY.

This gentleman's evidence occupies from p. 341 to 352 of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104.

Mr. Barry was travelling, in the public coach between Kingston and Spanish Town, with a member of the House of Assembly, who in the course of conversation stated that he hated England, on account of the efforts making there to deprive the colonists of their property. Mr. Barry observed that the colonists had much cause to blame themselves for the part England had taken; as they had misrepresented facts. They had stated, for example, that the use of the cart-whip had been abolished in Jamaica, while they all must know that it was as much used at this day as it was forty years ago. The honourable member admitted this, but added, "They tell lies upon us, and we are justified in telling lies too by way of defence" (p. 431).

The drivers often inflicted punishment on the slaves in the absence of the overseer. He once, in travelling, was arrested by the shrieks of a woman who was undergoing a punishment with the cat. She was extended on the ground. She was raised up and sent to her work on his coming up; but she was unable to stand upright, so severely had she been punished. He was shown a whip, and he pronounced it to be what is called the cart-whip, the instrument commonly used. He had seen hundreds of them (p. 433). He believed the driver's whip to be still used on all estates except a very few where it has been abolished.

He had many and many a time seen the slaves struck, in the field, with such a whip as that now shown to him (p. 440).

Mr. Barry produced a copy of the instructions given by the Society at home to all their missionaries (p. 456). These warn the missionaries generally to avoid meddling with political parties or secular disputes, and to enforce, by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. The West Indian missionaries are particularly enjoined to exclude from the Society all who relapse into polygamy and adultery, and all who are idle and disorderly, or disobedient to their owners, or who shall steal or act in any other way immorally or irreligiously. Their only business being to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves, they are not, in the least degree, in public or in private, to interfere with their civil condition; and they are diligently to enforce on the slaves the apostolical injunctions—Ephes. vi. 5—8, and Coloss. iii. 22—25. No person living in polygamy, or in concubinage, or in promiscuous intercourse, is to be admitted into the Society. The missionaries must take no part in civil disputes or local politics, and they are to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper. No missionary can raise contributions for himself, or be allowed to receive donations, except for the mission (p. 467). A very interesting sketch is given of the state of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies in 1830 (p. 461—466).

While Mr. Barry resided in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was surrounded by coffee plantations, and he was in the habit of hearing, almost incessantly, the sound of the whip, from morning till night. He could not mistake the sound of the driver's whip inflicting punishment for that of the mule driver. The regular and measured sound of the former was not to be mistaken. No man familiar with slave properties could mistake it. The crack of the whip is so loud that it can be heard at an immense distance. This use of the whip was so frequent that it ceased to surprise him (p. 470, 471).

It is well known in Jamaica, Mr. Barry observed, one of those facts indeed that every body knows, that in many cases overseers conceal from the inspection of surgeons severe inflictions of punishment. After the infliction, slaves are sometimes locked up for days in a state of solitary confinement. He fully understood this to be the case, though he could not prove it (p. 473).

Mr. Barry believed that, among the planters of Jamaica, humanity was the exception, not the rule.

He also believed that the slave population decreases, and this from causes connected with slavery. The maroons increase, and the free black and coloured population increase; the decrease of the slaves must be ascribed to causes connected with their condition. One of these he believes to be excessive punishment. The punishments are so severe sometimes as to occasion death. The late hours at which they are obliged to labour, and their licentiousness, are also causes (p. 476).

Mr. Barry does not think that any laws which have been passed will restrain men from inflicting severe and unnecessary punishment, or secure the slaves any adequate means of redress. In very few cases, he is convinced, will the Negroes be willing to run the hazard of incurring a proprietor's or overseer's displeasure by applying for redress. The practice of inflicting corporal punishment hardens the sensibilities of the human heart, and magistrates who are themselves slave-holders are deeply interested in upholding the system, and feel also the strong influence of prejudice. He detailed several cases of oppression arising out of the power possessed by masters and overseers to oblige female slaves to submit to their desires, as well as cases of excessive punishment for other causes (p. 414, 415, 469, 475, 488). Another at p. 479 seems hardly credible, and, as the papers relating to it were lost, it would have been better to withhold the details entirely.

Mr. Barry communicated a letter which he had received from Jamaica from a brother missionary, Mr. Bleby, dated Montego Bay, 24th April, 1832, proving the violent excitement still existing against the missionaries, though they had been declared innocent by the highest authorities. Mr. Bleby writes as follows:—

“You will have heard through other channels of the proceedings on the north side about the time of your leaving Jamaica. The acquittal of the Baptist missionaries was a complete triumph, and disclosed such a scene of villany and corruption as will for ever stamp this country with disgrace and infamy. The suborning false evidence against Mr. Burchell, and the attempt to assassinate him after his acquittal,—the miserable mockery of justice in the cases of Gardiner and Knibb, and all the other acts of violence and injustice perpetrated by the infatuated colonists,—will tend only to unfold more fully the direful influence of slavery on the human mind, and subvert the wretched system they are intended to support.

“The people in Trelawney seem to have become as bad as in that hot-bed of oppression, violence, and infidelity, St. Ann's; and a foul attempt was made there to murder me a short time since, from which I was only delivered by the merciful interposition of Providence” (p. 488).



“On the 6th of April a letter was brought to me which had been taken up in the enclosure in the front of the house, evidently written in a disguised hand by some person who can write well, threatening me with tar and feathers, and the demolition of the house, unless I left the town. The letter was signed ‘Mob.’ This I did not think necessary to take notice of, further than to request several of our people to sleep in the lower part of the house as a guard the following night. The next evening (Saturday the 7th) we had just sat down to tea, when a band of white ruffians forced an entrance into the house, and came up stairs into the room where we were sitting. They were nearly all armed with bludgeons. Thinking they had the appearance of constables, I addressed myself to the two first, and enquired what was their business with me; they answered, they were come to take tea with us. A number of them then seized me, and with much abusive language, cursing me as a preaching villain, &c., forced me backwards to the other side of the room, one of them striking me a heavy blow on the head. One of them having brought a keg of tar into the room, several of them held me fast against the window frame, while others covered my head, face, and breast with tar. In the meanwhile another of the ruffians took the candle from the table and attempted to set me on fire by applying it to my pantaloons; but, being frustrated in this attempt, he attempted, by putting the candle to the tar on my breast and neckcloth, to effect my destruction; but Mrs. Bleby, seeing his design, dashed the candle from his hand on the floor, by which means it was extinguished. By this time an alarm had been given, and several people came to my assistance;—the ruffians who were up stairs, hearing the scuffle below, left me and went down stairs, and ultimately succeeded in making their escape. It appears that in the dark several of the ruffians were mistaken by their fellows for me and Mr. Whitehorne, the Baptist missionary, whom they expected to find with me, and so severely beaten with their bludgeons, that one is not expected to recover; another has his scull fractured, one his collar-bone broken, and another his thumb disjoined. Mrs. Bleby twice thrust herself between the assailants and me; the first time one of them seized her, and threw her with violence on the floor, from which she is still suffering; the second time she interfered two of the ruffians dragged her away, and attempted to lock her up in the pantry, but could not succeed, as she clung to them, and got out with them. The child was lying on the sofa asleep; but being disturbed by the noise, and beginning to cry, one of the fellows called out, ‘Throw the child through the window,’ which Mrs. Bleby prevented by snatching it up in her arms. When they were gone down stairs, she succeeded in getting away through the back door with the child, without a bonnet, and with only one shoe, having been pretty well covered with tar in her efforts to prevent them from injuring me.

“Having made my way down into the yard, the same man who attempted to set me on fire rushed on me, and aimed a violent blow at my head, which I avoided by stooping. I again ran up stairs, and one of them struck at me on the stairs

with a bludgeon : but the blow, falling short of me, fell with a tremendous noise on the stairs. I finally succeeded in making my escape over the fence at the back of the house, and took refuge in the house of a person of colour who offered me shelter and protection" (p. 489).

Mr. Barry was asked whether he would not have been perfectly justified in interfering on behalf of the suffering slaves, when he witnessed marked violations of the law. He replied,—

"Your Lordships must see the very delicate situation in which we were placed ; a very strong feeling of prejudice existed against our mission, and it was our desire to meet that prejudice as far as we could, and this was also the wish of our managing Committee ; if we had interfered in any degree in the circumstances to which the question alludes, the cry would immediately have been raised by the planters, 'Here are these missionaries interfering between the relative duties of master and slave ;' and that would greatly add to the effect of the often-raised though unfounded report, that we were agents to the Anti-Slavery Society at home. We certainly have very frequently, under those circumstances, done violence to our own feelings ; but we were restrained entirely by these prudential motives" (p. 494).

The following is Mr. Barry's view of the general circumstances of the men who fill the situation of overseers in Jamaica :—

"The men who go to Jamaica for the purpose of being overseers are generally adventurers, who hope to improve their secular interests by that change ; they are generally men of humble character in life—men who possessed little or no influence in their own country. Any man acquainted with the general feelings and principles of human nature must admit that there is a strong desire to govern in the human mind—a strong tendency to the possession of authority. These men, when introduced to properties, are, in the first instance, to a very great extent, debarred from all the advantages of religion and religious worship : it is not necessary for me to go into particulars to prove this ; it is well known that such is the case throughout the whole island of Jamaica ; and of course whatever elevating impulse or principle they might have previously possessed must, under those circumstances, very soon become deteriorated ; independently of this, they have the example of their attorneys and overseers before their eyes living in a constant state of demoralization. While inferior officers upon the properties, they are invested with authority over the slaves, and that authority may be improperly exercised, from a variety of causes ; some of these, I have stated, may be excited by a refusal of the Negress to satisfy the impure desires of the person placed over her, and also the influence of passion and prejudice in those men ; and I believe it will hardly be denied, that in the same proportion in which they become inured to the infliction of corporal punishment the feelings of humanity become benumbed and deadened. That benumbing and deadening

influence will increase in an increased proportion of the infliction of punishment, and the co-operation of these causes I do generally assign as the reason why we see so little humanity among the overseers generally. There may be other causes which will operate, but these I believe to be the principal" (p. 501, 502).

The planters, Mr. Barry admitted, speak a great deal about the amelioration of slavery, but he did not believe that they, including the legislature, were willing to effect it. They might be more willing if a state of amelioration did not include the information of the Negro mind, and thus militate against the perpetuation of the system; for he was convinced they would ever be opposed to whatever was calculated to make inroads on the continuance of slavery. He believed the planters and the legislature to be most decidedly anxious for the perpetuation of slavery, and they have publicly declared their purpose to maintain it (p. 509). The punishment of the whip is frequently aggravated by inflicting further licks with the ebony bush, which contains a number of small but sharp prickles (p. 512).

An overseer, Mr. Barry thinks, has the power of inflicting great personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law. He may confine a slave; he may inflict tremendous punishment within the legal limit of 39 lashes; and even if he violates the law he runs no great risk of detection, slaves being prevented by the dread of subsequent punishment and ill treatment from preferring complaints. (p. 531.)

"An old lady in Spanish Town, a proprietress of slaves, was one day visited by one of our female subordinate teachers, a most intelligent woman; she had previously spoken to a slave belonging to this old lady on the subject of religion; however, she did not think it would be prudent to allow this slave to meet in religious society without the consent of the owner: she waited upon the owner, and told her that she had spoken to this woman on the subject of religion, and that she hoped she (the owner) would throw no obstacles in the way; she said, 'I certainly cannot allow her to pray (which is the general expression for religion in Jamaica); she is a *young* woman, and I must keep her to breed;' and that was the sole objection which the lady had to her meeting in religious society (p. 531).

Mr. Barry states that the law does not recognize the separation of families; but he is inaccurate in this statement, for there is no law which prohibits either separation by private sales, or separate levies in execution, though if families are levied upon together, which is not necessarily the case, they must be sold together. He adds,—

"A lady, a member of our society in Kingston, of the name of Miss Barrett, unfortunately became indebted; the child of a female slave was seized, I think by the marshal; after the seizure the woman herself came to my house. I lived immediately opposite, and was well acquainted with the mistress, and she told Mrs. Barry that such an act had taken place, and she hoped that the minister would interfere. I was not at home, and knew nothing of it until afterwards; the child was sold, and I knew that woman in consequence to die of a broken heart.—I knew another instance of the same kind in Spanish Town, though not followed by the same effects; it was a young man, the son of a slave woman, who was sold from her, not by consent of the mother; she was totally averse to it; she lived near our chapel yard, and was engaged in cleaning the chapel; and I have frequently seen her weeping bitterly on account of her loss, though the boy was not removed to any great distance" (p. 535).

## 2. VICE-ADMIRAL C. E. FLEMING.

This officer's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 378—392. In his evidence before the present Committee, he makes a mistake in supposing that the use of the whip in the field was forbidden by the disallowed act of 1826. There was no clause to that effect in that act; a motion indeed was made to substitute the cat for the driving whip, but it was rejected. A whip being exhibited to him, he allows that that is the whip generally used for punishing slaves. He had seen it applied both to men and women when lagging behind (p. 550).

Were any one to tell him the whip was not used as a stimulus to labour he would not believe him. He had never heard it denied (p. 552). In other points his evidence is much the same as in the Commons.

## 3. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq.

Mr. Taylor's evidence before the House of Commons will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 319—341.

Mr. Taylor repeated his belief that overseers have the power of inflicting a very great degree of personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law.

"I have known," he says, "eighteen lashes cause a degree of suffering that was dreadful, and called for notice; but, the law having allowed thirty-nine lashes, the parties who sought redress were completely baffled. The case was one of a young girl of eighteen who received eighteen lashes; it was one on



which many men felt deeply, and the chief magistrate of the parish took it up very warmly, and the official people of the parish took it up very warmly, but the overseer set them all at defiance by simply pointing to the statute. It was in October 1830. The chief magistrate was Mr. Custos Maize of St. Andrew's; the public prosecutor of the parish was Mr. Clement; the person offended against was a girl, Jane, of Temple Hall; the perpetrator was Martin, the overseer of Temple Hall. They carried the thing as far as they could do; it went before the Attorney General" (p. 570).

In this instance, Mr. Taylor thinks that if the overseer had violated the letter of the law, he would have been punished. The cause assigned for the punishment was insolence. The cause *she* gave was a very different one, and that was believed. He had heard many instances of barbarous floggings; and in mixing in West India society you hear particular men pointed out as kind, or as savage as brutes. A man of a harsh temper indulges his temper, and the law gives him abundant scope to do so.

"I remember," he added, "a poor creature came to complain, thinking I could do something for him. He stated himself to have been barbarously flogged; and on being stripped, which I caused him to be, his body did present a most dreadful aspect. He was suffering at the time from disease; he was weak in body; he was perfectly unfit to be punished, however flagitious his conduct might have been. I told him what the law was; that he might go before the magistrate and exhibit his person, which of itself was abundant evidence, and called for a council of protection; but the man said there was no use in doing that; that it would end in his getting another lashing, and that he would rather let it pass unless I would go with him, which I could not, for I was about to embark for England. This was on Prospect Hill in St. Andrew's. I had him inspected by old Negroes, who had witnessed these things themselves and had suffered them, and they told me it was a dreadful punishment he had got. I am sure he got no redress, for he determined to go home. I should doubt whether he was alive, for he seemed in bad health; I think he must have died some months after. I do not mean to say that the flogging killed the man; he seemed as if he would not long live, he was in such a state of health. He was certainly not in a condition to receive such punishment" (p. 570, 571).

"I have met with many instances of very cruel treatment, but on examining into them there was no law to meet them, and therefore it was impossible to do any thing. There was another case of a girl of nineteen; the only redress her friends had was to get her manumitted; an individual applied for her manumission; her owner, a cruel woman, I suppose did not wish to get into any altercation with this person, and she consented to sell her, and she is now free. She was severely flogged in the St. Andrew's workhouse, worked in the chain, and

flogged after. There was no redress for it; I could only tell them that the mistress had a legal right to do so" (p. 571).

This girl was confined to the workhouse by her mistress's sole authority. This was allowed by law, and therefore the way to redress was barred. Women and men were equally liable to be flogged, and were constantly flogged in the St. Andrew's workhouse. Mr. Taylor saw four or five women flogged; they were of all ages; one of sixteen, another of twenty-two, another of thirty-five, and an old woman of sixty, a grey-headed woman; that was the only female punishment he ever witnessed, and he never wished to witness it again. It was very dreadful. They were made fast by means of a block and tackle they had in the workhouse, which not only confined them, but stretched them—they were flogged with a cat-o'-nine-tails. He did not mean to say that the stretching was done to add to the torture, but it did so unavoidably. He spoke to two Negroes who were punished in that workhouse, and they told him it was the severest part of the punishments; their expression was, that "they were stretched till their backs cracked" (p. 571, 572).

"On one occasion," says Mr. Taylor, "I saw two women flogged; I would not call it severe flogging, for it was nothing compared to the flogging I have described in the first part of my examination; but, riding in a remote part of the island, I came upon the spot, and saw the punishment. I did interfere, but it was useless, for it was legal. The individual who was employed in flogging told me, very firmly but very respectfully, that he could not help it—he was a slave himself—he was obliged to do it, and was acting under his orders, and those orders were perfectly legal. I was myself a magistrate of the neighbouring district, but I could not interfere. If one had been his mother, and the other his sister, he would have been equally obliged to flog them. The law makes no reservation" (p. 578).

He had heard slaves state that they were deterred from marriage by their repugnance to seeing their wives flogged. It is the custom to flog women as well as men in the home-yard or in the field, where their nearest relatives may be; and their relatives may be employed to flog them. A driver is compelled to flog any one he is told to flog: he has no choice (p. 581).

Mr. Taylor was asked, "Did you ever know an instance of a hole being dug to enable the driver to place a Negro woman that was preg-

nant in the hole to flog her?" He replied, "Yes; I was told that by the head driver of Papine, a man that I have every reason to believe was respectable, a man I had very little to do with. I had been told those stories about flogging pregnant women. My attention being called to the subject, I was exceedingly anxious to arrive at the truth by asking other people, and I was determined to ask the Negroes and overseers and book-keepers. Among others I asked this head driver of Papine, a decent man, as I thought him, and he told me one instance in which he had himself inflicted the punishment. The woman was pregnant, and he told his story very clearly. This woman had been punished in that way. What made me believe it was,—this was a woman who had carried some complaint to Mr. Wildman; she complained of her being punished and losing her children in the womb; and afterwards she brought forth her children." His impression was, that the loss of the fœtus was in consequence of this. The driver told him there was an excavation made, and she was placed in it, and he flogged her with a whip, and afterwards, Mr. Taylor thought, with the ebony switch, After giving them the thirty-nine, they switch them. There was another respectable Negro upon the estate whom I examined separately. He had not been present, but he said he believed the thing did happen, and that during his residence on the estate those things had often happened; that pregnant women were often flogged; and he believed every woman upon the estate had been flogged over and over again. This was before Mr. Wildman went out to Jamaica (p. 592).

Mr. Taylor admitted that much exaggeration had taken place at public meetings held for Anti-Slavery purposes. He was asked whether he believed it to be true, as had been said at one of those meetings, "that a person had been scourged to the borders of the grave for no other crime than worshipping his God?" He answered, "I do believe in Jamaica there are instances of Negroes who have been severely and repeatedly flogged for no other reason than worshipping their God; I would not say to the borders of the grave; it does not consist with my knowledge that they have been scourged to the borders of the grave, I do not know that they have died, in consequence of *that*" (p. 594).

Again—

"If you had heard it stated that the Church Union Society was organized for two distinct objects—the demolition of places of worship and the banishment or murder of the missionaries, would you consider that a gross exaggeration?"

“No ; from what I have heard of the proceedings in Jamaica, I should not consider it at all an exaggeration, for I think it is borne out by facts. It was organized since I left the country ; with the exception of one man, I do not know any of them, and I would believe that man capable of any wickedness. I am asked about a society of which I know nothing ; I only know the proceedings of the society from certain imputations in the Jamaica newspapers ; it was organized since I left the country. I have read of gross outrages committed upon the persons of missionaries, which certain documents and newspapers have said were perpetrated by members of the Colonial Church Union ; I have no other information. Assuming that for truth, the inference is by no means a gross exaggeration ; but your Lordships will observe, I only gather that from the public prints”—(p. 525).

Mr. Taylor was asked whether the newspaper called the *Watchman* was not supported by the Anti-Slavery Society's principal agent there. His reply was, “I do not know any agent of the Society there ; I never knew any. I have often enquired for the Anti-Slavery Reporters there, and could not procure them” (p. 609).

#### 4. THE REV. PETER DUNCAN.

The evidence of Mr. Duncan before the House of Commons Committee will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 352—365. Mr. Duncan stated to the Committee the following facts, though he himself had not often been in situations to witness the inflictions of punishment :—

“I have seen myself instances of very great strictness respecting the punctuality of Negroes attending at the hours of labour ; and I have also seen instances of severity used when they happened to be a few minutes behind the hour. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to refer to one particular case : I remember once sitting in my lodgings in Manchioneal Bay, when I saw about a dozen of females that came into the field five or ten minutes too late, and each received a number of lashes from the driver. I have witnessed similar cases” (p. 637).

“In the year 1823 I knew of a slave driver having to flog his mother. In the year 1827 or 1828 I knew of a married Negress having been flogged in the presence of her fellow slaves, and I believe her husband too, for it was her husband and herself and other slaves who told me the circumstances. Merely because this Negress would not submit to satisfy the lust of her overseer, he had flogged and confined her for several days in the stocks. I was then in St. Thomas in the Vale. Connected with that station, we had two places of worship, one in the St. Andrew's mountains, but just on the boundaries of St. Thomas in the Vale and St. Mary's ; a considerable number of Negroes from St. Mary's attended at that place of worship ; among others there was one of the name of ————, from



—————. I was always particularly struck with her regularity in attending divine service; I observed her absence on one or two sabbaths, and I asked a lady what had kept her away. She said she believed Ann had got into trouble again, poor thing; that she had been punished by the overseer, whose name was ————. The name of the lady was Mrs. Lawrence; she told me that Ann had been often punished for coming to the chapel by her former overseer, whose name was ————; but that she believed she was coming the next sabbath, and I should hear her statement. The next sabbath a considerable number of Negroes from that property came to me, and among others Ann and her husband. I asked her what had kept her from the chapel. She said she had been severely flogged; she looked very ill; she was scarcely able to walk. I said, ‘What have you done?’ She said she had done nothing, but her overseer had wished her to come and sleep with him. She said, ‘No, Massa; I am a married woman, and I was married in the Church of England on the Parade at Kingston, and I cannot do any thing of the kind.’ Other Negroes told me that they were present at a part of this conversation, and saw Ann flogged, avowedly for that reason, and among the rest her husband; she was very severely flogged; I was told she got about fifty lashes, and was then put into the stocks. After she had remained in the stocks two or three days, the overseer asked her whether she would come and sleep with him yet. She said, No; she was ready to do her master’s duty, but could not do any thing of that sort. He brought three or four others, and pointed her out by way of scorn, and said, ‘This is a holy woman—this is a married woman; she cannot come and sleep with me because she is a Methodist, and has been married in the Church of England.’ There were a considerable number of Negroes with her at the time I saw her, who were witnesses to the whole or part of these facts. The woman was in a very poor state, hardly able to walk, in consequence of the very severe flogging she had got, and for the reason stated. Though I do not at present recollect any other such flagrant instance of cruelty as that, it was no uncommon thing to me to hear that the young female slaves had been flogged because they would not comply with those wishes of their overseers” (p. 641, 642).

The Negroes had been described by one witness as happy and cheerful. Mr. Duncan’s opinion of that statement being asked, he said, “I have seen some apparently happy enough; but I do not conceive they are all cheerful and happy, or that cheerfulness and happiness are very common among the slaves. As it regards punishments, I have already observed they are generally inflicted in such a way and at such a place that strangers have seldom the opportunity of beholding those punishments in the act of infliction; but I have seen some punished myself; I have seen Negroes who have been punished scarcely able to move; I have also seen one or two others with their flesh most

shockingly torn. I cannot conceive how it is possible *they* can be cheerful and happy" (p. 643).

The property of the slaves was generally respected; but he had known instances to the contrary.

"I have known Negroes complaining at least, in my hearing, in different parts of the island, that their provision grounds had been taken from them by the overseer, and that they had got in lieu of them uncultivated grounds, and had to begin all their work again; and I have heard frequently of managers or owners injuring the property of a slave, by shooting his hogs or poultry, without the possibility of their obtaining redress" (p. 645).

The means of redress to the slaves, for injuries or harsh treatment, he believed to be extremely difficult; and he stated the following as *one* instance in proof of it:—

"When I resided at Montego Bay, in 1829, there was a very painful case brought to my knowledge,—an estate, either Flint River or Tryall—I think the former; they are just contiguous; on which estate we have a number of Negroes connected with our societies. I was informed that they had no day for several months allowed them to work their provision grounds; that they went to their overseer, and he had promised them Saturday, but when the Saturday came he ordered them to finish the remainder of the cane piece; they refused, and went in a body to Lucea, either on Sunday or Monday, and complained to the magistrates that they had not had a day so long, and that their overseer had deprived them of this Saturday. I believe they were nearly all flogged; the matter was perfectly notorious; the flogging began, as the person who was a spectator informed me, about two o'clock, and continued till about five; men and women stripped, exposed, and flogged in the market-place: the whole of this case is fresh in my recollection. According to the rules of our society, by which we act in Jamaica, we are bound to censure such slaves as may disobey their masters. There were two of the Negroes in company with those slaves who went away to Lucea; and according to that rule, though a painful circumstance to my own mind, I was compelled to expel them from our society. The matter was public, and therefore quite well known. It was not, I believe, denied that the slaves had been refused their Saturday, nor was it ever called in question that they had no day of their own for weeks, and perhaps months; but because they came away on Monday they were all flogged" (p. 646).

The cases of Henry Williams and Kitty Hilton were then largely referred to. We will merely quote a passage from the conclusion of it. Henry Williams had himself told Mr. Duncan that the sufferings he had endured from the flogging he had received from Mr. Betty,

and his subsequent treatment in the workhouse for attending the Methodist chapel, had broken his constitution. He feared he never should be strong again. It was not by the magistrates that he was flogged, but by the arbitrary will of his master, Mr. Betty; and by the same arbitrary will he was sent to the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse, and that workhouse has the worst public character for severity of any in the whole island. The treatment in the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse is considered to be much more rigid and severe than in any other in Jamaica. This workhouse was not in the parish to which he belonged; he was in St. Ann's parish; but he was sent to a much greater distance, to this workhouse in St. Thomas in the Vale. "I believe also the Rev. Mr. Bridges sent some of his Negroes to that workhouse, and he stated it was because the discipline was more rigid in that workhouse than in that in the parish of St. Ann. The word discipline, as referring to slaves in Jamaica, means simply punishment" (p. 651).

In neither of the cases, neither that of Henry Williams nor that of Kitty Hilton, whom the Rev. Mr. Bridges flogged and treated so cruelly, was any redress obtained (*ibid*).

The barrenness of the women in Jamaica he considered to be attributable both to the severity of their labour and the looseness of their morals (p. 652).

The whole of the parochial resolutions published in Jamaica in 1831 conveyed to the Negroes the information, in clear and unqualified terms, that the government of Great Britain wished to make them free, and that the planters were opposed to it. Mr. Duncan added,

“His Majesty has not in his dominions a people more loyal and devoted to his person and government than the religious slaves. They revere the name of His Majesty and of his government too; and, as the inhabitants of Jamaica have published to the world that His Majesty and His Majesty's government wished to give the Negroes their freedom, this brought the matter before the Negroes in this way: Here are the King and his government wishing to make us free; here are our masters will not allow it: and I am well aware, should there be a question between the King and their masters respecting the Negroes, which side they (the Negroes) will go to.”

“I consider that the principal cause of the late insurrection has been the hasty and intemperate proceedings of the colonists themselves, and the violent manner in which they have opposed the wishes of His Majesty's government from year to year; the violent language which has been used, both in the legislature and out

of it. I cannot conceive it possible that such language could have led to any other result. I have already intimated to your lordships the natural impression made upon the minds of the slaves would be this: His Majesty's government wish to ameliorate our condition, and ultimately to make us free, but that every measure tending to this has been most violently opposed by the colonists, both in and out of the legislature."

Mr. Duncan entered into considerable details respecting the persecutions that had been endured by the missionaries. We need not follow him in these details. They are sufficiently known, and are not questioned. He enters into many details, also, to show that the opposition of the planters is not to the sectarian missionaries alone, but to religion itself; and as much to clergymen of the established church as to Wesleyans or Baptists (p. 672, 673).

He produced also some important documents in proof of his statements, as to the persécution of missionaries (p. 681—685).

Exorbitant sums are often asked for the manumission of slaves, as much as £300. A planter told him that a man of the name of James Walker, on Holland estate, offered a very large sum for his freedom to Mr. ———, whose answer was, "Ah, James, if you were free, you would go to the devil.—Go to your work"—(p. 690).

Mr. Duncan has known fifty lashes avowedly given to a slave, with a whip nearly resembling that now shown him, and equally efficient.

"A Negro was laid down to be flogged almost under my window, when I resided at Morant Bay—at least at no great distance. His master went to the workhouse; he came back with the supervisor, and four workhouse Negroes came along with the master and supervisor; two of them had whips. The Negro man was laid down; two of the Negroes held him down, one at the feet, and the other by the hands; and the Negroes who had the whips went one to each side of the man thus laid down and stripped. I counted either thirty-nine or forty lashes; that was with a cart-whip—I mean what is called a cart-whip." This was in 1821. "The Negro man received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip. I observed that they still kept him down, while the two men, the Negroes who had been flogging him, went some little distance, and came back with tamarind switches—they are hard and flexible almost as wire—and then they began upon him again, to flog him with those tamarind switches. I did not count the strokes they gave with the switches; but to the best of my knowledge they were as many as had been given before. I observed, when the former lashes were inflicted, the slave never uttered any thing more than a deep groan; but, when he came to be flogged with the tamarind switches, he shrieked most



dismally. His flesh was first lacerated with the whip, and then those small switches gave him great pain. I would observe this is a very common course in Jamaica; after they have received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip, then to use the tamarind switches; the common expression is, ‘beating out the bruised blood.’”

“I have seen many cases of flogging (but not very near where I happened to be), when travelling through the country, especially on the sugar estates. When I went first to the island, my attention was often arrested by the sound of the whip, a sound very well known to those who have resided any time in Jamaica. I have looked in the direction, and seen persons subject to punishment, and have counted more lashes than the law allowed. When residing at Morant Bay, the workhouse punishments I knew particularly; at that time they generally employed two Negroes for flogging; I never knew that on estates; and I have known them to exceed thirty-nine lashes, or even fifty lashes, without intermission; I did not see them punishing, but I know that so many have been inflicted without intermission. From the particular sound, I could judge of the instrument—a whip something like that produced to me” (p. 696).

“I recollect, in St. Thomas in the East, a man of the name of Phelp or Philp; he was flogged; he told me it was for attending a meeting for prayer. After a week or two, he came up to see me, and I desired him to sit down in the balcony of my house; he was not able to sit, but he leaned against a post. He afterwards went up to the curate of the established church; the curate told me he had examined him, and he was most dreadfully cut up. This, I think, was about 1824. I recollect again another case, of a coloured slave, belonging to Rhine estate; he was a tradesman; he had been flogged. I know it was many weeks before he got over it. He used to walk about with his stick: he was unable to do any thing. He told me that he got fifty lashes, and that each lash cut him. About the same year, I recollect another case, in St. Thomas in the East, in which I was at a property for change of air—myself with my family; the property belonged to a distant relation of my own. I recollect the overseer one night threatening to flog a young Negro woman (a woman about eighteen or twenty years of age), and I merely asked him what she had done. He told me she said there was no pleasing Buckra; but it was not for that, but because she had said Aha! (a very common mode of expression), that he would flog her” (p. 697).

“I remember another case, of a young woman coming from the workhouse at Morant Bay; she was coming over with one of her fellow slaves, who had been sent to the workhouse with her. I did not see her flogged, but she had on an Osnaburgh petticoat, and it was literally saturated with blood, which had been dropping on the ground all the way along. That was during my residence in St. Thomas in the East. After I went to Kingston, I saw persons who had been flogged looking very ill indeed. I do not know that I can now particularise any of them. I have seen flogging in St. Thomas in the Vale; I have seen children

of from ten to twelve and fifteen laid down and flogged in 1827 or 1828. From that station I went in 1829 and 1830 to St. James, and I saw other slaves, who had been flogged. I have heard of others; I have heard, from a number of slaves that came, about one young woman particularly; her flesh was almost torn from her body, because, as I was told, she would not sleep with the overseer"—(p. 697).

"There is one estate, a coffee property, situate next to my house in St. Thomas in the Vale, Mount Concord. That property is very much embarrassed. The Negroes belonging to it have a very excellent character given them; indeed they bore an excellent character for many years; but, in consequence of severe labour, a number of those who had been the most steady, excellent, and valuable people upon the estate actually ran away. I found two of the Negroes, members of our society, had run away; those people, much against my personal feeling, I was obliged to exclude. I was well acquainted with the gentleman who was the overseer of that property. His name was ———. The overseer informed me that the case was this: that the debt of the property must be paid off, and therefore a considerable number of Negroes were sent out to job. I believe the distance was between twenty and thirty miles. Mr. ——— told me himself it was a great hardship upon the Negroes, and the Negroes were determined they would not put up with it any longer, and for these reasons: in the first place, they had harder work; then, they were a week or a fortnight away from their families at a time, and never saw them but on Sunday; that they had no opportunity of returning to the property to which they belonged; that their provision grounds were at that time uncultivated; and their allowance nothing like a compensation for losing their provisions; that they had nothing like a comfortable house—nothing but temporary booths covered with cocoa-nut branches, on the sides of the road, instead of their comparatively comfortable huts on their own properties; therefore, as they were harder wrought, and taken away from their families, they were determined to put up with it no longer, and ran away to the woods. The overseer told me it was very hard, and he felt it so, but that the property was so involved; and he thought he could clear £500 a year by this kind of jobbing. I have known much individual suffering from slaves being taken to gaol, where they were confined for the debt of their master. I have seen the Deputy Marshal (or, as he is called, the Marshal's Dog), arrest Negroes, and drag them away for miles; and I have seen them crying and tearing themselves in the most violent manner. I remember once a young woman, who was arrested in a house where I happened to be at the time, on account of some debt owing to a gentleman by her owner. This young woman was about fifteen when she was arrested by the Deputy Marshal; the lady in whose house she was was very much affected, and appeared very indignant. I asked what was the matter; she said she had heard the Negro state there would be a fine prize at night for the gaol. 'Now,' says she, mentioning the name, 'this is a girl, though she does not be-

long to me, whom I have brought up as my own child ; she has been religiously instructed, and can read the Scriptures ; she is going at night to get into the fangs of one of those villains that belong to the gaol, and he will make her his temporary wife ; that is a common case with the young Negro women about her age, when they are cast into gaol for the debts of their owners.’ I was present at the time, and if I had not assisted to redeem the girl, she would have been taken to the gaol. There was another case, of a young lad, about fifteen years of age I should suppose ; he belonged to a property which was very considerably involved ; he was a very decent young man ; there was also the mother of this lad, with about seven children ; they were a very comfortable family, and religiously instructed and well taken care of : this lad was seized and was taken to gaol, and kept there for some time ; then sold and separated thirty or forty miles from where he had been brought up, and where the other branches of his family were. This I state from personal knowledge, that he was removed from his mother and brothers and sisters. I have also, in visiting the gaols, seen respectable Negroes, or at least apparently respectable quiet-looking people ; I have asked what they were there for : I was told for their master’s debt. They had been confined a longer or a shorter time” (p. 700, 701).

## 5. THE REV. THOMAS MORGAN.

The evidence of this missionary before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, pp. 391, 392.

Mr. Morgan is asked, “ Have you heard or known of an instance of Negroes being addicted to vindictiveness and cruelty ?” His reply is, “ When I was in Antigua, there was a member of our society executed for murdering his overseer, but it was in consequence of the overseer debauching his wife.” He knew of none in Jamaica (p. 712). He thought the slaves remarkable for their attachment to those who treated them kindly. He believed that, in regard to missionaries, the Negroes were disposed to lay down life for them ; and he had witnessed many instances in regard to their owners also, when treated with any thing like kindness (*ibid*).

He considered the distress of the planter to arise mainly from slavery itself. It was founded on wrong. It was an iniquity calling he feared, for the judgment of heaven (pp. 713, 714).

If slaves were emancipated, he believed the parents would be eager to have their children instructed, and would pay for their instruction. On plantations children go to work at five years of age (p. 715).

He has seen the slaves beaten in the field with the cart-whip, the same kind of whip now shown, only the handle not quite so long (p. 717).

If the slaves were emancipated, there would still be law, of course, to restrain them; and in proportion as religious influence extended among them there would be peace and order (p. 718).

He always commended the slaves for attending to religious worship, and where there was any failure of attendance urged them to it. He considered neither himself nor them as breaking any law in pressing this duty upon them, whatever the wish of their masters might be (p. 720).

## 6. THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.

The evidence of this missionary before the House of Commons' Committee is contained in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, pp. 392—405.

Our readers will recollect how roughly Mr. Knibb was handled in that Committee, and particularly how it was attempted to falsify his testimony as to the confidence reposed in him by Mr. Miller, the custos, in respect to the examination of the Negro insurgents, who were under sentence of death, particularly in the evidence of Mr. Baker and Mr. Dignum (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, pp. 339, 341). He now produced a letter from this identical Mr. Miller (who was the attorney of Mr. Hankey's estates, and also of Lord Seaford's), addressed to Mr. Knibb on the eve of his absenting himself, for a few months, from Jamaica, on account of his health, and to which island he returned just after the Baptist chapels had been destroyed, in February 1832. It is dated Falmouth, 12th June, 1831, and is as follows:—

“Dear Sir,

“I am sorry to find from your letter that your ministry at Rio Bueno and Arcadia is about to cease, particularly as you have acquired the respect and esteem of the white persons residing at Arcadia, as well as of the slaves.

“I send enclosed a note for Mr. Whitehouse, requesting him to attend at Arcadia in your stead, which you will oblige me by conveying to him.

“Soon after my arrival in England I shall call on Mr. Hankey, when he will no doubt be particular in his enquiries respecting the progress his slaves are making in religious instruction, and in every matter which relates to their welfare.

“Please accept my best thanks for your kind wishes on my behalf; and wishing you the enjoyment of health and happiness,” &c. (p. 738.)

Instantly on his return to Jamaica (in February, 1832, as mentioned above), Mr. Custos Miller sent for Mr. Knibb, and had a conversation with him for two hours, in which he stated his sorrow for the demolition of the chapels, and said the island was ruined by it (p. 738).



Lord Belmore issued a proclamation about the destruction of the chapels, which was nugatory. No attempt was made to prosecute the offenders, some of them magistrates, though the missionaries in their memorial gave him the names of the whole of the magistrates and officers of militia, whom they said they could prove to have been engaged in the demolition of the chapels (p. 739).

Mr. Knibb produced to the Committee Jamaica newspapers stating the formation of the Colonial Church Union, framed for expelling dissenters and screening the destroyers of their chapels, stating the day of meeting, the proceedings and objects of the society, and the persons, magistrates and others, by whom it was formed. Among the resolutions of one of these meetings, held at Falmouth, in Trelawney, on the 24th March 1832, and signed by the custos, James Macdonald, who was in the chair, are the following:—

“1st. That the representatives of this parish be instructed to support every measure that may be brought forward in the house of assembly for preventing the sectarians any longer being permitted to disseminate their dangerous tenets amongst our slave population.

“2d. That it appears from a mass of moral evidence, that the sect called Baptists has been most instrumental in misleading our slave population by the inculcation of doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As Sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorised ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties.

“3d. That our magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold, for the future, their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship.

“6th. That this meeting pledges itself to operate with the other parishes in this island in the general Colonial Church Union, for the purpose of protecting our interests from the diabolical machinations of the anti-slavery party in England, and their emissaries the sectarian preachers in this island” (p. 740).

As to pulling down the chapels, the Cornwall Courier, edited by Mr. Dyer, a magistrate, contains the following passage:—

“The war now may be considered at an end. The deluded victims of sectarian treachery have tried their strength, and are satisfied of their utter incapacity for warlike operations. The ease and celerity with which they have been subdued, and appalling examples, have struck a terror which will not be got the better of; and we might anticipate a long series of peace, were it not for the

portentous events with which the political horizon of the parent state is overcharged. There we are to expect nothing but what the most rancorous animosity, backed by power, may inflict; but we are happy to observe that a feeling and spirit is aroused throughout the island which will enable the injured and insulted inhabitants to withstand and repel the assaults of their enemies. This has been manifested in the destruction of those dens of sedition and hypocrisy, the sectarian chapels.

“Retribution has been inflicted in the most speedy manner, and it has been inflicted by those who had a full right to do so. Society has its rights as well as legislature. The prerogative of society is undeniable; it is at all times greater than that of legislature, which is dependent on it. Here is one of those instances where the representatives were powerless, and the people have taken it in their own hands. When we say the people, we do not mean a mob—a gang of thieves and pickpockets, such as the happy politics of England now acknowledge as their liege lords; but we mean the magistrates, vestrymen, and freeholders of the island, who have been in arms to preserve their property, and who have in open day done this thing in self-defence” (p. 741).

The Jamaica Courant of the 1st March, 1832, a paper universally circulated in the island, contains the following denial of the slaves owing allegiance to the crown, but only to their masters.

“On an attentive reperusal of the governor’s opening speech to the legislature, we are sorry to remark that his Excellency persists in his allusions to ‘the machinations which have been employed to seduce the slaves into rebellion;’ and to talk of their *allegiance*!! and the *duty* they owe to their masters. The Earl of Belmore has been long enough in Jamaica to know that the slaves owe no allegiance, and that the contract between their owners and the government of the mother country provides only for their obedience to their masters; and we deprecate the idea of inculcating upon the Negro mind the bare supposition that the king has any control whatever over him; and we have no doubt that to the frequency with which such doctrines have been held out by the sectarians is mainly to be attributed the cause of the late rebellion” (p. 741).

Mr. Knibb had heard of instances of torture being used to extort evidence from slaves against the missionaries.

“I have,” he said, “the history of one man as he wrote it down as soon as he had been flogged, and I can produce that. I have heard of other cases; and a female told me, Miss M’Clellan, when she was taken up, she was shown the gallows, and told, if she did not tell all that Parson —— had told her, she would be hung there; and she was asked how she would like it. I do not mean to say that I have every word, but I have the substance of what she said.

“During our endeavours to collect witnesses, William — came to a brother missionary, and told him he was smoked with fire and brimstone a long time in the gaol, because he would not implicate Mr. —. This I was told by the attorney who was employed to obtain evidence for our defence. I know William —; I was in the house when he told it, but I had my own witnesses to examine” (p. 742).

He had known also an instance of a slave being flogged by his master for refusing to assist in demolishing the chapels. The man had been Mr. Knibb’s own servant for two years.

“He told me that his master requested him to go and assist to pull down the Baptist chapel; his master lives just opposite to it; that he beat him very unmercifully; that he took away fifteen flag stones, with some timber, and that these were then in his master’s kitchen. He came to beg my pardon for doing it, and I said it was not his fault. He said he was unmercifully beaten for refusing to pull down the chapel; he said this to me when I returned; he had been a servant of mine; I was rather attached to the lad, and I was desirous to purchase his freedom if I could have done it. I had heard that the boy had been there and had taken a part in it, and he came to beg my pardon, and stated that his master had made him do it.”

The following is the statement that was enclosed in the further memorial of the Baptist missionaries to Lord Belmore, dated 18th April, 1832, and which they pledged themselves to substantiate:—

“During martial law the following property in which the Baptist missionaries were entrusted was destroyed by the militia:

“A new chapel called Salter’s Hill, in St. James, just completed, was set on fire by a party of the St. James militia, under the command of F. B. Gibbs, Esq. and Captain George Gordon.

“A private house in St. James, called Pultney, rented as a place of worship, and a residence called Wellington, in Hanover, the property of Mr. Burchell, were severally burnt by the militia; and a house in Hanover, called Shepherd’s Hall, hired as a place of worship, was entered by the militia, and the pews, furniture, and pulpit therein, belonging to Mr. Burchell, were taken out and burnt.

“On the 8th of February last the Baptist chapel at Montego Bay was pulled down at noon-day, by a large mob, among whom were the following magistrates and officers of militia, most of whom were actually engaged:—

“*Lieutenant-Colonel* William Charles Morris, *Major* John Coates, *Captains* Geo. Gordon, Wm. Mitchell Carr, John Cleghorne, Joseph Bowen, Benjamin Hampton Thorpe, *Magistrates*. *Captains* Wm. Nettleton Balme, John Thaife, Edmund Evans. *Lieutenants* James Gordon, Joseph Tray, Wm. Plummer,

Thomas Watson, Charles Wallace Ogle, John Henry Morris, George M'Farquhar Lawson, Jun. *Adjutant*, Henry Hunter. *Ensigns* William Fowle Holt, James Coates, Wm. Gordon, Joseph Gill Jump. Alexander Campbell, Esq., Charles O'Conner, Esq., Wm. Keith, Esq., *Magistrates*. Wm. B. Popkins, *Head Constable*.

"This outrage occurred within two hours after the custos, and G. M. Lawson, colonel of the St. James regiment, and a magistrate also, had been informed that it was about to take place, yet the parties met with no interruption in their proceedings.

"The perpetrators of this act are well known at Montego Bay ; and no difficulties whatever exist in discovering the authors of the outrage.

"The governor's proclamation of the 13th February was posted about the town of Montego Bay, but within an hour after it was torn down.

"On the 14th of March the lodgings of Mr. Burchell, a Baptist missionary (the indictment against whom had been that day ignored), was approached by a mob, composed chiefly of white persons, for the purpose, as they said, of doing him some bodily injury ; and but for the voluntary opposition offered by private persons, all their purposes would have been effected before a magistrate came to the spot, and during the time occupied by some of the authorities in procuring affidavits of Mr. Burchell's danger, which they required, though they saw him surrounded by the mob, before they would call in a military guard. Mr. Burchell was obliged to quit the island for the preservation of his life.

"On the night of the 12th of February the Baptist chapel at Rio Bueno was attacked and partially destroyed by the grenadier company of the Trelawney regiment, dressed in their regimentals, which was stationed at Bryan Castle estate, near that place ; and on the evening of the 18th it was burnt down.

"On the — February the chapel at Stewart Town in Trelawney was partially pulled down by some persons, also connected with the militia.

"The Baptist chapel at Falmouth had been occupied during martial law as barracks by the St. Ann's regiment. On the 7th of February, when that corps was about to quit the town, Mr. Isher, Mr. Gaiver, a magistrate and ensign, and Adjutant Samuel Tucker, commanded the men to break down the chapel, and themselves set the example, saying those were the orders they had received. It was completely demolished.

"While the work of destruction was proceeding information was given to Lieutenant Thomas Tennison, of the Trelawney regiment, the officer on guard in the town. His reply was, 'that it was no matter whether they broke it or not ; he supposed they would set it on fire.'

"Mr. Knibb, one of the missionaries, paid a visit to Falmouth early in March. For three successive nights his lodgings were stoned ; and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him.



“After martial law was discontinued the horses of Mr. Knibb were taken from Falmouth by Major-General Hilton, who has till very recently retained possession of them.

“At Lucea, on the 6th of January, Lieutenant-Colonel John Edward Payne, and Major Richard Chambers, magistrates, and Mr. Heath, the rector, went to Mr. Abbott, the Baptist missionary’s residence, and stated that he had run away. Mr. Payne asked if he had any letters from Burchell, and said, ‘the Baptists had tried to ruin them; but, instead of that, the Baptists would be ruined themselves.’

“Mr. Chambers opened Mrs. Abbott’s desk with a false key, though he was told it was hers, and searched her letters. They locked, nailed, and sealed up the doors and windows of the house, and used a great deal of abusive language to Miss Dixon, who had charge of his house. Mr. Heath took away Mr. Abbott’s church books, which have never been returned.

“On Thursday, February 9th, in the morning, the Baptist chapel at Lucea was destroyed. The following parties were among the perpetrators of the outrage:—John B. Heath, *Rector*, D. A. Binns, Charles Younge, *Constable*.

“Mr. Alex. Campbell, of Lucea, a magistrate, was present, and did not attempt to prevent it. Mr. Heath, the rector, asked a gentleman to go with him and destroy the d——d Baptist chapel.

“Mr. Richard Chambers, on the evening of the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a magistrate when Mr. Abbott’s dwelling house was violently entered by D. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c., for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbott’s property, was struck with a horsewhip by D. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps if she did not go.

“Several dozens of wine were destroyed; and several of Mr. Abbott’s books and clothes stolen.

“On Friday night, February 10th, at about ten o’clock, a number of men rushed into the chapel at St. Ann’s Bay, and violently destroyed the windows, with part of the pews and benches, causing great alarm to the missionary and his wife, who were residing under the same roof. The next day that missionary brought this outrage before two of the magistrates, Messrs. Thomas Raffington and W. S. Harker, who examined several witnesses, but afforded no adequate protection. In consequence of being left without protection by those who had the military force under their command, the missionary, his wife, and infant child, were compelled to flee from their home for safety; and on the following Tuesday, in the forenoon, the whole building, comprising the chapel and residence, was pulled down, and the materials stolen. Among the parties engaged in this act were Dr. George R. Stennett, and Lieutenant Henry Cox, junior, magistrates, Captain Samuel Drake, and the head constable.

“We are informed that, on the last-mentioned day, some magistrates sent for

the boxes of the missionary to the court-house, searched them, and took out sundry papers and others of their contents.

“On the 24th of February Ebeny chapel, at Hayes Savanna, in Vere, was wilfully destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Heath, Mr. Lean Wood, a magistrate, with another person, went and broke some of the windows of the chapel, and took away the key.

“On Friday, the 6th of April, about ten o’clock at night, a mob of white men, armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to Mount Charles chapel, in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house they met with a poor old man (a free negro), unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them with a bayonet stabbed him in his side.

“When they got to the house they broke open the door, and fired in at it. Some of them broke the windows of the bed-room, forcing in the glass frames, and shutters with such violence that the bed on which Mrs. Baylis (the missionary’s wife) and her infant were lying was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room, for the purpose of setting it on fire, but it was put out. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an outhouse, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but, the alarm being given, they made off.

“The chapels and places of worship at the following places have also been destroyed:—Savanna-la-Mar and Fullersfield, Westmoreland; Green Island, a hired house; Brown’s Town, and Ocho Rios, St. Ann’s.

“On the 10th of January nine dozens of Madeira wine, which were being sent from Mr. Burchell’s residence in Montego Bay to him on board the ship *Garland Cume*, were taken possession of by Lieutenant John Henry Morris, and have never since been restored. On the 12th the same person returned, accompanied by Mr. James Gordon, a magistrate, who said that, by order of Sir Willoughby Cotton, he came to see what quantity of wine was remaining. They went into the store, counted the wine, locked up the store, and took the key away. The key was not returned so late as the 5th of April.

“Besides the particular instances mentioned, much more of the private property of the missionaries has been destroyed or injured during and since.

“The loss of property sustained by the mission amounts to upwards of 20,000*l.* currency.

“The Jamaica Courant (understood to be the newspaper most extensively circulated in this island) has endeavoured, and still endeavours, with impunity, to excite the inhabitants to the commission of every species of outrage on the missionaries, recommending destruction of property, and even threatening life if they remain in the island. This paper is generally (and from the almost universal

support it receives is properly) considered as the organ of the colony. Concurring in opinion with the Jamaica Courant and other newspapers, many of the inhabitants of this island have connected themselves in an association, under the designation of ‘the Colonial Church Union,’ the predominant object whereof is to procure the expulsion of all the missionaries from the island—an endeavour, in fact. ‘Englishmen have the right to abide in their own country as long as they please, and not to be driven from it, unless by the sentence of the law;’ and they submit that an association for such a purpose is illegal, and at variance with the whole spirit of the British constitution.

“The first place at which this Union was set on foot was St. Ann’s Bay, where, on the 15th of February, after the demolition of several chapels, and the promulgation of the proclamation, the following among other resolutions was passed :

“6th. That it is expected from every member of this Union that he will lend his influence and support on all occasions to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation from the murderous machinations of our enemies.”

“The presidents of this meeting publicly announced are—Honourable Henry Cox, Custos of St. Ann’s, major-general of the militia, and member of the House of Assembly, and James Laurence Hilton, Esquire, a magistrate of that parish, and also a major-general,—two of the authorities who are required by the proclamation to prosecute the offenders and prevent further outrages in that parish.

“In Spanish Town the Colonial Church Union for the county of Middlesex was held on the 21st of March, and the resolutions of all the parochial meetings seem to have been then recognized and amalgamated. The Honourable John Lunan, a judge of the Supreme Court of the island, custos of the precinct of St. Catherine, and member of Assembly, was appointed president of this meeting.

“It would be an endless undertaking to enumerate all the law preservers and justices of the peace who are members of this illegal and peace-disturbing Society; but the missionaries cannot omit to notice that the custodes of the several parishes of Trelawney, Manchester, and Vere have accepted the office of president in their respective parishes. In the parish of Trelawney, one magistrate, Mr. W. Dyer, publishes a newspaper called the ‘Cornwall Courier,’ in which he has repeatedly urged that the missionaries should be tarred and feathered. An attempt was made, on the 7th of April, to practise this on the Wesleyan missionary at Falmouth; and in the next number of that paper this act was spoken of with approbation. Our eyes cannot be shut to the fact that William Dyer, editor, and Mr. Dyer, magistrate, are one and the same person; and it seems a little too much to expect from human nature, that what the editor recommends and applauds the magistrate will very rigidly judge or severely punish.

“Another magistrate, Joseph Hodgson, who resided within a few doors of the place where this disturbance occurred, was applied to for assistance; his reply to the applicant was, that ‘she had better go home, they would not hurt the minister.’

These instances of the degree of sanction which some magistrates give to the acts of violence committed on the missionaries were adverted to in a letter addressed to His Excellency's Secretary on the 14th instant" (p. 750—753).

The correspondence also which took place between the Baptist missionaries and Commodore Farquhar, who was on the Montego Bay station, was also given in evidence by Mr. Knibb. This officer had thought proper, in an address to the inhabitants of St. James, to say to them, "Gentlemen, I rejoice and do most sincerely congratulate you that this most unnatural rebellion (raised in a great measure by the fanatical preaching and teaching of the sect called Baptists) is now at an end." The missionaries wrote to him demanding an explanation. He did not deign to reply to them. A second letter was written to him renewing the demand, and intimating that the correspondence would be laid before the Admiral and the Lords of the Admiralty. To this he replied by his secretary, that he did not hold himself responsible for any letter in the public prints which he had not ordered to be inserted; he had nothing to do with the steps the missionaries might take; and he declined all further correspondence with them (p. 757—760).

We trust the Lords of the Admiralty will teach this commodore a lesson he has not yet learnt; that even missionaries have rights as British subjects which he is bound to respect, and not to outrage, as he has most unwarrantably done.

Mr. Knibb gave further, in evidence, copies of the confessions made to him by the Negro convicts, in compliance with the request made to him by Mr. Custos Miller; and of the striking testimony in his favour by Mr. Samuel Moulton Barrett,\* the brother of the Jamaica delegate to this country (p. 760—764).

There are in Jamaica many religionists among the slaves who call themselves Baptists, but who are in no degree connected with the Baptist missionaries, and whom it was not impossible that overseers, or any other ignorant persons, might confound with the missionaries and the slaves of their congregations. Mr. Knibb said he himself had a congregation of about 3000, whose contributions amounted in the year to about £600, half of that sum being contributed by free persons, and half by slaves. The contributions were quite voluntary, and were quite unconnected with admission or rejection (p. 767, 768).

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\* See a copy of this letter in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 101, p. 282.



Mr. Knibb was not aware that reports of cruelties to slaves were circulated in his congregation against the planters. He very seldom heard of them.

“The slaves are by no means desirous of telling acts of cruelty; they will conceal them. They feel the degradation of being flogged so much, that it is with the greatest difficulty they will tell when they have been flogged.”

He therefore thinks there were a great many such cases which he had not heard of. “Flogging is as common on the estates as eating,” p. 768.

He was led to believe that the condition of the slaves was rendered worse by the insurrection.

“In the disturbed districts they were obliged to work harder, at least as I was informed; I left that part of the island, for safety, as soon as I could; but so much being destroyed, I was credibly informed that all were obliged to work harder, which is rather the natural result after so much property had been destroyed. I consider that being made to work harder is severe treatment. I was told that they were obliged to work all the Lord’s day, but I did not see that” (p. 770).

The following is a copy of the affidavit of Mr. Reaburn, a magistrate, respecting one Stennett, who was suborned to inform against Mr. Burchell, and who offered, before two Montego Bay magistrates, Messrs. Reaburn and Manderson, to swear that the information he had given was false, and that he had been bribed to give it. They (the magistrates) declined receiving it, and Stennett has been committed to take his trial for the perjury.

“Personally appeared before me Thomas Reaburn, who, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that he was the non-commissioned officer on guard at the court house on Wednesday the 22d instant; that he was called upon by J. Manderson, Esquire, a justice of the peace, and requested to accompany him to the room in which Samuel Stennett and a number of prisoners were confined, as he, the said John Manderson, wished me to hear some confession that the said S. Stennett was anxious to make. That this deponent together with J. M. and S. S. went into a separate apartment, when the said S.S. was told by Mr. M. to relate what he had to say; he then stated that he had done wrong in swearing against the Baptist parsons, as the statement therein contained was false and unjust. That this deponent then asked him what motive he could have to make this declaration, as he must be aware he would place himself in a very strange situation. He said he could not help it; he wished to appease his conscience, or words to

that effect. This deponent asked him if he had made the affidavit against Burchell and Gardner when under the influence of fear. He said no, he was induced to do so from a promise of reward, as four gentlemen (naming them) had assured him that he would be well thought of by the gentlemen, that he would be allowed ten pounds a year from the country, and that one of the said gentlemen would make the sum fifty. The said S. Stennett further stated, that he never joined the Baptist Society, as a member, until Mr. B. had left the country; that he knew nothing of the missionaries Burchell and Gardner, and expressed his willingness to make oath to what he then stated. This deponent further saith, that he never before had any conversation with the said Samuel Stennett. So help me God. (Signed) T. Reaburn. Sworn before me this 24th February 1832. (Signed) William Ewart" (p. 771).

Mr. Knibb also delivered in a statement of all their baptized, in other words, of all their communicants; for the baptized and communicants are identical in the Baptist churches; amounting, at 24 different stations, to 10,838. This of course does not include enquirers (about 17,000 in number), nor persons excluded for misconduct. The number of these was 111, of whom 69 had been restored.

Mr. Knibb further swore that, on first hearing of the rebellion, he had felt the strongest desire, and made the very utmost efforts, to quiet it.

"I instantly warned some of our congregation. We had a chapel to open the day before the rebellion broke out; I rode between thirty and forty miles, and had a free person with me, of the name of Vaughan, and went among them, and stated that I understood they were going to refuse to work, and assured them they were totally mistaken about a free paper; and I gave an address to all the people I had with me, and I sent my deacons to more than fifty properties; and not on one single estate where I sent was there any insurrection" (p. 773).

A report having reached Falmouth, on the 4th of January, 1832, that Mr. Knibb was to be shot, the following letter was sent to him to Montego Bay by express, signed by Mr. Barrett, a proprietor of two estates, and a member of the Church of England, and two Presbyterian ministers, viz.—

"My dear Sir,

Falmouth, 4th January, 1832.

"It was only when we returned from Cinnamon Hill, last night, that we heard of your accusation and arrest. We deeply sympathize with you and your brethren in your present trouble. We have heard this morning of apprehensions being entertained for your safety, and use the utmost haste to assure you that we are convinced you have not been either intentionally or directly guilty of creating the

present insurrection. We are prepared to repair to Montego Bay and witness to this effect, and, as far as our knowledge goes, to your peaceable character as a Christian and a minister.

“We are, dear Sir,

With most sincere feeling for your affliction,

To the Rev. William Knibb,  
Montego Bay.

H. M. WADDELL.

S. M. BARRETT.

GEORGE BLYTH.”

(p. 773.)

Mr. Knibb further swore that he made it a conscientious rule never to talk with the slaves about emancipation, and being asked how he reconciled that with his feeling of the impropriety of his holding language in England which he would have thought wrong in the West Indies, he replied—

“My duty in the West Indies was to instruct the slaves in religious matters; when in England, I am speaking to free people. It is my firm opinion that Christianity and slavery are entirely incompatible. I consider myself, when in England, justified in using any language which I consider consistent with truth, and that I am not responsible for where my language may go. In point of fact, I do consider that Christianity and slavery cannot possibly be co-existent; that is my firm conviction.”

It will be allowed by every candid reader, that the missionaries, Mr. Barry, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Knibb, have done themselves the very highest honour by their examination in the Committees of both Houses.

## 7. THE REV. THOMAS COOPER.

This gentleman's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons stands in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, at page 365—367 of No. 104.

When Mr. Cooper was in Jamaica, prior to 1821, he did not know that there was any school of any kind in the parish of Hanover. There was, it is true, a charity school in that parish, of which the Rev. Mr. Rose, the rector, was the master, and received the salary; but during upwards of three years that Mr. Cooper lived in that parish, it was of no use to any one person in the world, but to Mr. Rose. One free brown boy may have attended the school, but not a slave. The salary was paid from the Jamaica treasury. He knew Mr. Rose very well, and assisted him in teaching his own children, and two or three others (p. 791, 792).

All slaves not above forty are desirous of freedom, and if made free, he believes they would be a happy and useful peasantry. He never knew any other stimulus applied to obtain labour from them but coercion. All in Jamaica, planters, clergymen, and others, all conceived nothing was to be done but by the whip. The free people are industrious and make money. He had heard of money-making among the slaves only as a miracle, not as a general rule. If *masters* resisted emancipation, danger might follow, not otherwise. He had never heard of free people requiring parish relief. He considered the peasantry of this country as princes compared with the slaves (p. 795).

Planters resident in this country, he believed, knew very little of the real condition of their slaves, or they would be the first to make them free. He considered the supply of food to the slaves very inadequate (p. 796).

“ The field Negro received seven or eight salt herrings in the week ; at Christmas, a small supply of salt fish, by way of present ; he was allowed to cultivate land on the back parts of the estate, and I believe he was not restricted with regard to the quantity of land ; he had to cultivate that land on a Sunday, and on the days allowed by law, amounting to twenty-six, I think, in the year.”

The Sunday too was his own, and with that employed they might obtain enough. He did not say that they suffered in health from want of food, but they dwindled from 410 to 393 while he was there. The treatment was not more harsh than on other estates. There was no cruelty for cruelty's sake. The harshness he complained of was the every day practice. He remembered sitting at breakfast and hearing the whip going at a distance. After breakfast, a young woman came up to him and told him to look at her. She turned round, and all across she was cut in a dreadful manner, and the blood running. They were removing dung, and she could not keep up with the rest. She had no idea the driver did it out of spite ; he might or he might not (p. 799).

Mr. Robert Hibbert was the owner of that estate. On Mr. C.'s return to England he paid Mr. H. a visit at his seat in the country, and reported to him the state of his Negroes. He told Mr. Hibbert that he had been invited to publish his observations on the state of slavery, and Mr. Hibbert encouraged him to do so. His mission was so far successful as to satisfy himself that slavery must give way before



Christian instruction, and this he wrote to Mr. Hibbert before he left his estate. Mr. Hibbert wrote back to request him to remain on the estate, but prohibiting him from teaching the slaves to read. Finding he could be of no further use to the slaves, and that his situation had thus become a sinecure, he resigned it.

Those who wish to appreciate the value of Mr. Cooper's testimony may turn to the evidence which he gave in the year 1822, soon after his return from Jamaica, and which may be seen at length—and an invaluable document it is—in a pamphlet entitled “Negro Slavery; or a View of the more prominent Features of that State, and especially in Jamaica,” fourth edition (printed for Hatchard), p. 36—55. That evidence produced a most powerful effect at the time; and was, in fact, the precursor of all the Anti-Slavery efforts which have since been made.

#### 8. THE REV. JOHN THORP.

Mr. Thorp's evidence before the House of Commons' Committee may be seen in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, at p. 370—372 of No. 104.

There were two estates in St. Thomas in the East where reading was taught to the slaves. These belonged to Sir George Rose. Letters were taught in the *Sunday* school; but the impediments were very great, as even the children had to attend their grounds on Sunday, and the same children could not attend more than once in two or three months. They had fresh slaves every Sunday. The slaves, at the same time, were very eager to receive instruction (p. 1044).

Mr. Thorp admitted it would be very desirable that ministers of the gospel should conciliate the esteem of the planters, only as far, however, as they could do so conscientiously. But the immoral lives of the planters would prevent such persons from forming any very intimate connexion with them. The connexion he formed with them was more from his situation as the curate than from any other circumstance. Were he to return to the colony again, he certainly should not visit them, even to the limited extent he did when there. His reason for entertaining that opinion was the decidedly immoral state of the planters, which he thought compromises the character of a Christian, especially of a Christian minister; they live in open and avowed concubinage. He knew of no exception on any estate whatever, except one, that of Sir Henry Fitzherbert. There was scarcely another instance of an attorney or overseer being married.

The slaves had sufficient *vegetable* food, but that is not enough for hard-working slaves. The slaves, he thinks, are overworked to the injury of health and the shortening of life, by their labour being protracted to too great length. The hours of labour by law are from five in the morning to seven at night, with intervals of two hours and a half, being eleven hours and a half of labour. The hours of labour are not from sunrise to sunset, but, by law, from five to seven; and to the night-work of crop there is no legal limit. It makes sixteen hours daily in some cases, and in others eighteen. The night labour of crop is not so laborious as cane-hole digging; but it requires not only constant attendance, but constant and brisk action, and must be very laborious. He had heard it said that the Negroes were best off in crop; but he could not say he had observed that. He thinks them overworked to the waste of life (p. 1047—1050).

The whip was always carried in the field; he never saw a gang without it. It was carried for the purpose of being used, and he has seen it used (p. 1050).

Mr. Thorp knew the case of a slave on Serge Island estate, who died, it was supposed, from excessive punishment. The coroner's jury brought in their verdict, "Died of erysipelas, accelerated by the punishment previously inflicted." The overseer, who had absconded, was indicted; but the grand jury ignored the bill.

The jurors on the coroner's inquest were neighbouring overseers (p. 1054).

Emancipation, he thought, would produce an advantageous change of system. Ploughs and cattle would be substituted for manual labour, and the establishment of whites on estates might be reduced. At present the plough was in very little use indeed (p. 1055).

He conceived there was no sort of artificer's work could be wanted in the colony to which the Negroes are not equal. Not only did the free people work in the neatest and handsomest manner, but he knew many slave carpenters who were equal to any thing, even making writing-desks and dressing-cases.

Mr. Thorp's belief was that the slave population in Jamaica was decreasing, while the free black and coloured population were increasing.

9. THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. M. P.

Mr. Buxton was the only remaining witness on the Anti-Slavery side examined before the Committee of the House of Lords. His evidence was given at considerable length, and embraced all the variety of topics which might be supposed to have occupied the mind of so able a leader in this great cause—such as the moral debasement and the physical sufferings of the slaves; the frightful waste of human life produced by slavery; the impediments to religious instruction; the religious persecutions that had taken place; the causes and progress of the late insurrection; the cruelties of various kinds incident to slavery; the advantages of an early emancipation to masters as well as slaves, and the dangers of delaying it; together with a variety of proofs, drawn from history and experience, both of the perfect safety of such emancipation, and of the certainty of deriving, from free labour, an adequate supply of all the articles now grown by slave labour. It would be evidently impossible for us to follow Mr. Buxton over this wide field, nor is it necessary. He has it happily in his power to urge all these fruitful topics, in his place in parliament, with much more effect than we, by any abstract of ours, could impart to them. We therefore desist from the attempt, being satisfied, by the proof he has here given of his thorough mastery of the subject, that it is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. Buxton underwent a long cross-examination respecting his population tables and the inferences he had drawn from them; and it seemed clearly to appear in the result that his references were correct, and his reasonings and conclusions from the facts before him perfectly sound. This we hope, ere long, fully to establish.

In the mean time there are two observations we have to make. One is, that he has conceded too much to his opponents in admitting that the age of puberty in Negro females is as early as ten; whereas the fact is that it is not earlier than in Europe, namely, in general about fifteen. This is an extremely important fact to be kept in view in estimating the childbearing ages of the slave population.

Our second observation is this, that even if we were to admit, which we do not, that the partially selected returns which were made the ground of his cross-examination were fair and accurate—there would still remain one conclusive and overwhelming argument,

which no ingenuity can by any possibility evade; and that is the argument drawn from the parallelism of the cases of the slave population of the United States of America and of that of the British West Indies, in that only respect on which the West Indians can for one moment rest the shadow of an apology for the destruction of human life attendant on their system. That argument we shall transcribe in the words in which it appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 100, p. 264.

“The slave trade ceased in the United States of America, and in the British West Indies, in the very same year, namely, 1808. The relative proportion of imported Africans, on which the West Indians lay so much stress as accounting for the decrease of their slaves, notwithstanding the boasted lenity of their treatment, must therefore have been nearly the same in the two cases. But have the results been the same ?

“In one of our late numbers (No. 97, p. 102) we have shown that, in 1808, the slave population of the United States must have amounted to about 1,130,000, and that of the British West Indies to about 800,000.

“In 1830, after an interval of 22 years, the slaves of the United States amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436; being an increase of 880,436, or about 80 per cent. in that time.

“It appears that, in 1830, the slaves in all the British West Indies could not exceed 695,000, being a decrease of at least 105,000 slaves in the same period of 22 years.

“Now, had the British slaves increased, during that time, at the same rate with the American slaves, their number, in 1830, instead of being only 695,000, would have been 1,423,317, making the enormous decrease, as compared with the progress of population in the United States, of 728,317, a waste of life exceeding, by nearly 5 per cent., the number of the existing population.

“A similar result would be produced by a comparison of the progress of population, among the slaves, with that of the free black and coloured classes inhabiting the same colonies. Had they even increased at the rate of the Maroons in Jamaica, the least favourably circumstanced of those classes, the 695,000 slaves of the West Indies would have grown, in 1830, to 1,240,000, or, if at the rate of the free classes in Trinidad, to 1,500,000.



“These facts constitute a charge against colonial slavery which no sophistry can elude. After every deduction which the most elaborate ingenuity can suggest, it will remain under the stigma of being one of the heaviest curses which afflicts humanity, and this independently of the unnumbered political, moral, and spiritual evils which directly flow from it. And yet here have we, with our Government, and our parliament, in this land of Christian light and liberty, been coolly deliberating for ten years (and still are deliberating) whether this curse, inflicted by ourselves on our fellow subjects, shall be at once removed, or shall be permitted, for months or years longer, to oppress and desolate one of the fairest portions of the creation of God! How long shall we continue to endure this depressing load of conscious guilt? Let the electors, aye, let the legislators too, of the United Kingdom see to it! THEY are now on their trial at the bar of the Most High!”

But one of the most important portions of Mr. Buxton's evidence remains still to be noticed—we mean the documentary part, which is so important that any member who shall overlook it will have made himself very imperfectly acquainted with the evidence adduced before the Lords' Committee. We must limit ourselves, however, at present, to a mere *catalogue raisonnée* of its contents.

1. A statement of the case of Hayti, from 1789 to the present time, with the causes and consequences of its revolution; drawn from authentic sources (p. 840—853).

2. Extracts from the minutes of the board of trade of Bengal, of the 7th of August, 1792, on the culture of sugar by free and slave labour (p. 856).

3. Extracts of a letter from William Fitzmaurice, Esq., on the same subject, dated Calcutta, 5th Feb. 1793 (p. 857).

4. Extracts from Dr. Roxburgh's account of the Hindoo method of cultivating the sugar cane, and of manufacturing sugar in the northern provinces of India (p. 857—860).

5. Extract from the History of Java, by Sir T. S. Raffles, published in 1817, on the culture of sugar by free labour in Java (p. 860).

6. Extracts from Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, in 1806, relative to the Culture of Sugar (p. 861).

7. Extracts from Sir George Staunton's Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in 1793, on the Culture of Sugar in Cochin China and China (p. 863).

8. Extracts from M. de Guigne's *Voyages to Peking, Manilla, &c.*, 1784 to 1801, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

9. Extracts from Mr. Abel's *Narrative of a Journey in the interior of China in 1816 and 1817*, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

10. Extracts from Barrow's *Travels in China*, on the Culture of Sugar there (p. 863).

11. Extracts from Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago in 1820*, on the culture of sugar there by free labour (p. 865).

12. Extracts from Mr. Botham's evidence before the Privy Council in 1789, on the enquiry relative to the slave trade ; being on the culture of sugar, both by free and by slave labour (p. 867).

13. Extracts from the evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, engaged in enquiring into the trade of India, showing the state of the sugar trade at Calcutta in the years 1828 and 1829 (p. 869).

14. Statement by T. F. Buxton, Esq., of the decrease of the slave population of the sugar colonies, drawn from official returns (p. 872—881).

15. Reply to the West Indian explanations of the decrease of the slave population in the British sugar colonies (p. 891—893).

16. Correspondence of Viscount Goderich with the Bishop of Jamaica, and the Bishop's reply of the 29th August, 1831, on the state of religion in Jamaica and its dependencies (p. 896—900).

17. The case of Mr. Custos Jackson and his wife, respecting their treatment of two female slaves, as contained in a despatch of Viscount Goderich of the 1st November, 1831 (p. 905—908).

18. An account of the complete enfranchisement of the forfeited Africans, and of the slaves belonging to the Crown in all the colonies, as drawn from official and parliamentary documents (p. 921—924).

19. The history and the effects of emancipation in the case of Guadeloupe, as drawn from authentic sources, and accompanied by official documents (p. 924—929).

20. An account of the emancipation of slaves, and of the culture of sugar by free labour, in Mexico, drawn from the official correspondence of Mr. Ward, the Mexican envoy, with Mr. Canning, and from Mr. Ward's work on Mexico (p. 929, 930).

21. The case of the emancipation of slaves in Columbia, from authentic sources (p. 930, 931).

22. The case of the Maroons in Jamaica, with official statements of the progress of population among them, as compared with the surrounding slave population (p. 931—934).

23. The question of the tendency of emancipation to produce pauperism, as it appears in official West Indian returns, considered (p. 934—936).

24. Comparative view of the progress of the slave, and of the free black and coloured, population, in the Island of Trinidad, as far as it can be ascertained from official documents (936—938).

25. A view of the state of free labour and its advantages, in the Island of Trinidad, drawn from official returns (p. 938—940).

26. A view of the progress of the free coloured population in the colonies of Antigua, Barbadoes, Demerara, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, drawn also from official returns (p. 940, 941).

27. An account of the receipts and disbursements of the Anti-Slavery Society from its commencement in 1823, to the end of 1831 (p. 949—956).

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We have now finished our task of analysing the bulky volumes which contain the evidence on colonial slavery taken in the last session of parliament, by the committees of both houses. And, in bringing our labours to a close, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of again congratulating our friends, throughout the United Kingdom, on the results of the enquiry—results which we cannot but regard as most triumphant.

At the close of our last number we did not hesitate to express our entire conviction that the abolitionists had established their case in evidence. We do so on the present occasion, if possible, with a still more undoubting confidence. It has been proved, with the clearness of demonstration, that colonial slavery may be abolished forthwith, to the unspeakable advantage of the suffering slave, and without danger either to the public peace or to the persons or property of the master. What motive, therefore, can exist for any further delay? What course can now remain for a Christian Government and a Christian Parliament to take, but to pronounce its immediate and entire extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We put these questions at the close of our last number. Since we uttered them, parliament has assembled, and our position is somewhat changed by what has taken place there. In reply to Mr. Buxton, who had given notice of a mo-

tion for abolishing slavery, unless government should take the matter into their own hands, Lord Althorp stated that it *was* their intention so to do, and that he should bring before the House, as soon as it was matured, a measure which he trusted would be both *SAFE* and *SATISFACTORY*.

Of the details of this measure we can of course know nothing; but we hail the announcement of it with unfeigned delight, and with heart-felt gratitude to the great Disposer of all events for this cheering indication of his favour.

It would argue an utter ignorance of the frank and manly character of Lord Althorp to entertain the smallest doubt as to the sincerity with which this pledge has been given, and as to its entire accordance with the purposes of His Majesty's government. We therefore await the fuller developement of the proposed plan with confidence, indeed, but yet with intense anxiety. And this we apprehend is the feeling of the whole nation. They are looking forward, in a state of breathless expectation, for the result; and we trust that they will not be disappointed of their hope. The opponents of emancipation, we are well aware, will not be inactive. They are skilled in the mechanism of unfounded alarms, and no artifice will be spared to create such alarms. Only therefore let us be vigilant, watching with calmness the course of events, but prepared at a moment's notice to act with energy and decision; and then we need not doubt that the irreversible decree shall ere long go forth, which shall for ever efface this stain from the national character, and give liberty to the now prostrate slave in every corner of His Majesty's dominions. May God Almighty fulfil that expectation!







